

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	5	5/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses personnel currently on board at 1701 and a budget breakdown. 37 pgs.
33	5	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. This document discusses the publications "Lift of Leadership," First Monday, and the Nixon Record: The First Thirty Months. 2 pgs.
33	5	10/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Book	Title: First Monday: Report on the Presidency (October 4, 1971). 24 pgs.
33	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Book	Title: The Nixon Record: The First Thirty Months of the Nixon Administration. 28 pgs.

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33	5	5/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: McGovern. 3 pgs.
33	5	5/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell (bcc: H.R. Haldeman). This items includes and discusses the weekly report. 16 pgs.
33	5	5/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Robert C. Odle through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. This document dicusses 1701s activitty in support of the president's Vietnam speech and the weekly report. 11 pgs.
33	5	6/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle through Jeb S. Magruder to the John Mitchell. RE: Weekly Report. 9 pgs.
33	5	6/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to H.R. Haldeman. This document and article in the Los Angles Times regard McGovern. 1 pgs.

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33	5	6/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Newspaper	Memo	New York Times. "The L.A. Media Area-- Where McGovern Lost: Correlation May Indicate Senator Is Vulnerable on Economics and Welfare," by Robert A. Jones. 4 pgs.
33	5	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Weekly Report. 8 pgs.
33	5	6/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John Mitchell. RE: Weekly. 13 pgs.
33	5	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John Mitchell. RE: Staffing for the Telephone Operation. 3 pgs.
33	5	5/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Devan L. Shumay through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Theodore White. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	5	6/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Voter Registration Lists for Key States. 2 pgs.
33	5	6/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: California Voter Registration List Data Base. 1 pg.
33	5	6/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Confidential New Jersey Political Voting History Data. 1 pg.
33	5	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Connecticut Voter Registration List Data Base. 39 pgs.
33	5	6/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Illinois Voter Registration List Data Base. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
33	5	5/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Haldeman through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Voter Registration Test. 3 pgs.
33	5	5/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: New Jersey Voter Registration List Database. 2 pgs.
33	5	5/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Proposal Outline to Republican State of N.J. and the Committee to Reelect the Pres. For Data Collection, Editing, and Formating into Machine Readable Form of Current Voter Regist. Info. for the state N.J. 17 pgs.
33	5	6/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Michigan Data Base Development. 3 pgs.
33	5	5/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. This document discusses a "text-and-photo" book entitled "Eye on Nixon" and distribution of working copies to physicians. 4 pgs.

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33	5	5/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William W. Stover to Robert C. Odle, Jr. RE: Distribution of "Eye on Nixon." 4 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 313

Folder: Campaign 22 Part III June 15-29, 1972 [Folder 1]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
106	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Strachan, 5-17-72
107	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 5-16-72
108	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 5-31-72
109	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 5-26-72
110	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 5-17-72
111	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 6-2-72
112	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to HRH, 6-22-72
113	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 6-12-72
114	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 6-23-72
115	Return Private/Political Memo, Marik to Mitchell, 6-15-72
116	Return Private/Political Memo, Shumway to Mitchell, 5-22-72
117	Return Private/Political Memo, Morgan to Mitchell, 6-13-72
118	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 5-31-72

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *r.c.o.*

Pursuant to your request I am enclosing at Tab A a list of the personnel we currently have on board at 1701 and a brief description of each. These are descriptions, not titles.

At Tab B is the budget break-down described to you in my memo of May 5.

Although different people might describe the organization of the campaign in different ways, there are basically four divisions or broad areas:

1. The Finance Division, housed in Suite 272, and headed by Mr. Stans. Hugh Sloan serves Stans as a sort of "executive officer" and there are several vice chairmen and fund raisers, e.g., Dan Hofgren, Tom Pappas, Lee Nunn, Newell Weed, Lang Washburn, etc. Gordon Liddy is the Division's counsel. The campaign controller's office, although it works closely with my administrative operation, is a part of Finance.
2. The Political Division, located on the third floor, is headed by five regional coordinators; the fifty states are split among them. The five area coordinators are Bob Mardian (west), Harry Flemming (south), Don Mosiman (midwest), Clayton Yeutter (farm states), and Al Kaupinen (northeast). Mosiman previously was a top man at EPA; Yeutter is from Agriculture and also heads Farm Families for the President.  
  
Fred La Rue, although technically not in the Political Division, performs a number of chores in this area as Special Assistant to the Campaign Director.
3. The voter blocs and functional groups, spread throughout the building, are run by Fred Malek. Assisting him at 1701 are Chuck Shearer (who did this at the Willard in '68) and Andre Le Tendre (who started yesterday).

These groups are Youth (Ken Rietz); Business and Industry (Paul Kayser); Black (Paul Jones); Ethnic (Tony De Falco); Older Americans (Dan Todd); Agriculture (Clayton Yeutter); Spanish Speaking (Alex Armendaris); Veterans (Frank Naylor); Labor (not yet selected); Jewish (Larry Goldberg); Transient Vote (Dick McAdoo); Lawyers Committee (Dan Pilierio); Physicians (Bill Stover); Educators (not yet selected); Women (Pat Hutar); Voters Rights (Murray Chotiner).

4. Then there is what might be termed "everything else," and falls under the jurisdiction of Jeb:
  - a. Advertising. Peter Dailey's November Group. Three people in Washington, the balance in New York.
  - b. Convention. Run by Bill Timmons out of the White House.
  - c. PR/Media. Cliff Miller and Van Shumway's operation.
  - d. Research and Planning. Headed by Bob Marik this also includes the Direct Mail operations (Bob Morgan) and Telephone Operations (Nancy Brataas).
  - e. Polling. Bob Teeter. Bob has two young assistants in Washington.
  - f. Spokesmen Resources. The "scheduling" operation run by Bart Porter and Curt Herge and the "tour desk and advance" operation headed by Jon Foust. The latter also includes celebrities, athletes, American Music, etc.
  - g. Administration. Odle. Roughly comparable to the White House Staff Secretary plus Personnel and Security. Also includes budget administration and special projects for Magruder. Correspondence section, guards, drivers, etc.
  - h. Counsel. Glenn Sedam.

With respect to your question on operating expenses, it costs approximately \$50,000 - \$60,000 per month to run 1701. This includes all rents, phones, furniture, office equipment, supplies, stationery, security devices, typewriters, leasehold improvements, auto rental, etc. Costs for telephone equipment and our long distance charges run almost one-third of this amount.

Let's discuss the salary situation on the phone. I'm having those figures put together now.



ADMINISTRATION

Magruder's Office

Job Description

Jeb Magruder

Assistant to Mr. Mitchell

Bob Reisner

Administrative assistant  
to Magruder

Gene Roberts

Secretary to Magruder

Vicki Chern

Secretary to Reisner

Sedam's Office

Glenn Sedam

Counsel

Diane Kalin

Secretary to Sedam

Odle's Office

Rob Odle

Director of campaign admin-  
istration, personnel, etc.

Connie Santarelli

Assistant for personnel,  
Committee correspondence,  
etc.

Jeannie Mitchell

Assistant for personnel,  
Committee correspondence,  
volunteer recruitment and  
placement, etc.

Martha Duncan

Assistant for office manage-  
ment, equipment, supplies,  
machine maintenance

Jeanne Mason

Secretary to Odle

Kathy O'Melia

Receptionist & switchboard

Ruby Youngs

Telephone Operator

Odle's Office, cont.

Job Description

Sylvia Panarites	Receptionist - 4th floor
Jim McCord	Security coordinator
Linde Zier	Correspondence typist
Nick Bungato	Staff messenger
Carl Foster	Staff driver

James Dooley

Mailboy

Mitchell's Office

John Mitchell

Campaign Director

Lea Jablonsky

Secretary to Mr. Mitchell

Morgan Elliott

Driver for Mr. Mitchell

Note: There is also a security guard force under the Administrative Division.

Note: Sandra Hobbs, legal secretary to Mr. Mitchell, is on the payroll of Mudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander

ADVERTISING

<u>Peter Dailey's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Bill Novelli	Assistant director; based in Washington
Liz Johansen	Secretary to Dailey
Susan Schjelderup	Secretary to Joanou and Novelli

Other Advertising salaries are reflected on payroll of November Group, Incorporated.

NOVEMBER  
GROUP  
INC.

~~Highly Confidential~~

March 22, 1972

Pete Dailey:

In the interest of proper internal control it would be desirable if from time to time the payroll rates both internal and anchor and loan-were confirmed by a person in authority independent of the Finance Department. (Reimbursement to free lance personnel have been reported to you separately)

Accordingly, if the information below agrees with your understanding, kindly indicate so, by signing a copy of this document and return to me.

Should you have any questions, please let me know.

<u>Dept.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Start Date</u>	<u>A&amp;L/NG</u>
Executive	P. Dailey	President	2/1	A&L
Executive	P. Joanou	Exec. V.P.	2/1	A&L
Finance	P. Muller	Sr. V. P.	2/1	NG
Creative	W. Taylor	Creat. Dir.	3/1	A&L
Acc. Man.	M. Lesser	Man. Suprv.	2/1	A&L
Finance	F. Becker	Treas.	2/1	NG
Media	G. Karalakes	Dir. Media	2/1	A&L
Sales Pro.	M. Heinrich	Mgr. Promo.	1/16	NG
Executive	S. Woodson	Adm. Asst.	2/28	NG
Sales Prom	P. Krever	Adm. Asst.	2/1	NG
Finance	E. Goubeaud	Ekp.-Sec.	2/21	NG
Acc. Man.	M. Giangrande	Adm. Asst.	2/17	NG
Off. Serv.	R. Elau	Rec.-Swich Bd.	2/21	NG
Off. Serv.	E. Prato	Mail Head	3/6	NG
Media	S. Kassucci	Asst Buyer	3/16	NG
Acc. Man.	M. Scott	A/E	3/13	NG
Creative	G. Whitlock	Sec. to Dir.	3/1	A&L
Acc. Oper.	S. Willis	Print Cood/Euy	3/6	A&L

CC: R. Smelas. Price Waterhouse  
F. Becker

\*Represents contractual rate for services from inception to dissolution of Corporation

909 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022  
(212) 752-3500

*Pete Dailey*  
*March 22, 1972*

AGRICULTURE

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Clayton Yeutter	Director
John Foltz	Assistant
Gary Madson	Assistant
Roni Haggert	Secretary
Kathy Hill	Secretary

BALLOT SECURITY

Personnel

Job Description

Yvonne Allen

Assistant to Chotiner

Note: Chotiner is not on payroll but does receive reimbursement for expenses.

BLACK LIAISON

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Paul Jones	Director
Brenda Pettross	Secretary
Karen Minor	Secretary
Frank Carpenter	Assistant

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Paul Kayser	Director
Harold Fangboner	Assistant
Peter Rocchio	Assistant
Bill Harper	Administrative assistant
Pat Cochran	Secretary
Catherine Koob	Secretary

CITIZENS

Personnel

Job Description

Charles Shearer

Director

Jerry Jones

Campaign controller

Carolyn Muse

Secretary to Jones

Edward Nixon

Assistant to Malek

Tina Karalekas

Secretary to Nixon

Andre Le Tendre

Assistant to Shearer

CONVENTION

Personnel

Fred Rheinstein

Job Description

Convention media  
coordinator

ELDERLY

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Dan Todd	Director
Jim Mills	Assistant
Polly Sedlak	Secretary
Christie Todd	Assistant
Ruth Groom	Assistant
Judy Prokop	Secretary

ETHNIC

Personnel

Job Description

Anthony De Falco

Director

Connie Broadus

Secretary

EXECUTIVE

<u>Mrs. Mitchell's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Kristin Forsberg	Secretary
Tom Wince	Driver-messenger
Carol Willis	Staff Director
Jacqueline Newman	Secretary

Special Arrangement -- Dent Job Description

Jan Milliken	Secretary in Dent's office
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Note: This is a special arrangement worked out at Roger Milliken's request whereby he pays the Committee \$8,000 per year so that it can pay his daughter that sum to work in Dent's office. The daughter does not know her salary is paid by her father and he wants it that way.

<u>Special Arrangement</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Patricia Lasky	Writer

FIELD OPERATIONS

Personnel

Job Description

Tom Houser	Illinois Chairman
Diane Graham	California fieldman
Tony Goldstein	California fieldman
Tom Dey	California fieldman
Ken Manning	California fieldman
Dan Hall	California fieldman
Michael Scholar	California fieldman
Susan Sullivan	California fieldman
Dustin Murdock	California fieldman
Richard Richards	Western fieldman

FINANCE

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Hugh Sloan	Assistant
Peter Holmes	Assistant to Sloan
Lee Nunn	Assistant
Lang Washburn	Assistant
Newell Weed	Assistant
Paul Barrick	Controller
Charles Dexter	Director mail fund raising
Barbara Zapp	Direct mail fund raising
Kenneth Talmage	Administrative Assistant
Arden Chambers	Secretary to Stans
Ann Pinkerton	Secretary to Stans and Chambers
Jane Dannenhauer	Secretary to Sloan
Yolanda Dorminy	Secretary to Nunn
Judy Hoback	Bookkeeper
Charlotte Lyeth	Accounting
Eveline Hyde	Coordinator of finance volunteers
Carroll Holton	Driver for Stans
Maureen Devlin	Secretary-receptionist
Florence Thompson	Secretary to Talmage
Richard Visceglia	Direct mail fund raising
Celine Terrar	Direct mail fund raising

<u>Finance personnel cont.</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Elaine Hall	Secretary
Gordon Liddy	Counsel
Sally Harmony	Secretary to Liddy
John T. Washburn	Assistant
Joyce Barbour	Assistant Bookkeeper
Glenn Olson	Direct Mail fundraising
Sharon Harris	Direct Mail fundraising
John Chadwell	Assistant to Mr. Nunn

Note: Messrs. Maurice Stans, Dan Hofgren, Thomas Pappas, and Michael Miller are not on payroll but do receive reimbursement for expenses.

Robert Odell and several secretaries in the Finance Division are on the RNC payroll.

JEWISH

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Larry Goldberg	Director
Ronald Greenwald	Assistant
Beryl Cohen	Secretary
Michael Abrams	Assistant
Paige Peters	Secretary

LAWYERS COMMITTEE

Personnel

Job Description

Daniel Piliero

Director

Mary Lewis

Secretary

LETTERWRITING

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Betty Nolan	Director
Victoria Agnich	Assistant
Christine Nadeau	Assistant

Note: This is the office which quietly writes the hundreds of "letters to the editor" throughout the country.

This function was transferred to our payroll when we assumed the White House support budget.

PHYSICIANS

Personnel

Job Description

William Stover

Director

Merlyn Hunger

Secretary

POLITICAL

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Harry Flemming	Political Coordinator
Donald Mosiman	Political Coordinator
Al Kaupinen	Political Coordinator
Mark Bloomfield	Assistant to Flemming
David Allen	Research
Dolores Ulman	Secretary to Flemming
Barbara Fierce	Secretary to Bloomfield and Kaupinen
Laura Frederick	Secretary to LaRue
Robert Mardian	Political Coordinator
Betsy Callaway	Secretary
Wyn Drake McAuliffe	Secretary to Mardian
Diane Kopperman	Secretary to Mosiman
Neille Mallon	Secretary to Mardian

Note: LaRue is not on payroll but does receive reimbursement for expenses.

POLLING AND RESEARCH

Marik's Office

Job Description

Bob Marik	Director of research, planning, strategy, etc.
Bob Morgan	Assistant for direct mail
Nancy Brataas	Assistant for telephone operations
Carmen Hoepfner	Assistant to Brataas
Gail Belt	Assistant to Brataas
Art Finkelstein	Assistant for demographics
Rick Fore	Administrative assistant to Marik
Richard Shriver	Planner
Thomas Slivinski	Assistant to Morgan
Biba Wagner	Research Assistant
Jo Creighton	Secretary to Marik
Ann Braafladt	Secretary to Fore and Marik
Mary Adams	Secretary to Brataas
Dan Mintz	Assistant to Finkelstein
Susan Le Donne	Secretary to Morgan

Teeter's Office

Bob Teeter	Polling director
Ted Garrish	Assistant to Teeter

Teeter's Office cont.

Job Description

Dan Evans

Assistant to Teeter

Marybeth Koeze

Secretary to Teeter

Nancy Crouch

Secretary to Garrish  
and Evans

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND MEDIA

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Cliff Miller	Director
Van Shumway	Director of public affairs
Scott Peters	Audio director
Powell Moore	News and information
Ann Dore	Communications manager
Art Amolsch	News bureau manager
John B. Fuller	Writer
Frank Leonard	Publications and graphics
D. J. Atwood	Assistant to Leonard.
Bill Parish	Photo editor
Angela Harris	Assistant
Leslye Arsht	Research coordinator
Pat Strunk	Wire room operator, messenger, etc.
Karen Koon	Secretary to Shumway
Noelle Kantzer	Secretary to Girard
Patty Price	Secretary to Amolsch
Laura Underwood	Production Assistant
Jean Coleman	Secretary to Miller
Terri Thayer	Secretary to Harris and Leonard
Joan Donnelly	Secretary to Dore
Michael Kekker	Messenger
Jim Randall	Audio Assistant
Mark Rosenker	Audio Assistant

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SCHEDULING AND TOUR OFFICE

<u>Porter's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Bart Porter	Scheduling Director
Curt Herge	Master scheduler
Bill Minshall	Assistant scheduler
Sandra Cram	Assistant scheduler
Nora Vandersommen	Secretary to Porter
Peggy McClung	Secretary
June Peterson	Secretary
Roger Stone	Assistant scheduler
Debra Herwig	Secretary

<u>Foust's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Jon Foust	Tour Director
Edward Cowling	Tour Desk
Ed Crane	Celebrities coordinator
Susan Davis	Advanceman
Patti Schragger	Celebrities secretary
Peggy Wiesemann	Secretary to Foust
Debbie Nixon	Secretary
Harry Warner	American Music Coordinator

SPANISH SPEAKING

Personnel

Job Description

Alex Armendaris

Director

Frank Almaguer

Assistant/Fieldman

Betty Gonzales

Secretary

TRANSIENT

Personnel

Job Description

Richard McAdoo

Director

Susan Whittier

Secretary

VETERANS

Personnel

Job Description

Frank Naylor

Director

Judy Myers

Secretary

James Smith

Fieldman

WOMEN

Personnel

Job Description

Pat Hutar

Director

Rita Hauser

Public Relations

Nancy Steorts

Coordinator

Nancy Blair

Secretary to Hutar, Hauser,  
Steorts

YOUTH

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Ken Rietz	Director
Ken Smith	Assistant and project manager
Tom Bell	Assistant and project manager
Bob Podesta	Project manager
George Gorton	College director
Bert Krueger	Fieldman
Maxwell Calloway	Fieldman
Louis Barnett	Fieldman
Ted Wigger	Fieldman
Tom Davis	Fieldman
Bill Lamont	Fieldman
Bill Ehrig	Fieldman
Connie Cudd	Secretary to Rietz
Marilyn Johnson	Assistant to Rietz
Barbara Preve	Secretary for Assistants
Eve Auchincloss	Secretary for Assistants
Angie Miller	Project Manager - Nixonetts, Nixonaires
Gary Burhop	Convention coordinator
David Chew	Assistant
John Ford	Assistant

B

<u>Division</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Advertising	Dailey	\$ 12,153,000	Includes all media costs, overhead, salaries, etc., to run November Group. This figure represents the total cost to Re-elect Committee. Some dollars which might have gone to this budget are now scheduled for the Direct Mail and Telephone budgets.
Campaign Materials	Dailey	\$ 1,500,000	Cost \$2 million in 1968. If the states purchase campaign materials, then the state support budget will increase by this amount and this category will be removed. Regardless of where the money is spent, however, it will cost \$1,500,000.
Candidate Support	Magruder/Malek	\$ 1,380,000	Represents the White House support account previously maintained at RNC. Includes Presidential and First Family travel, the entire White House mailing program, etc.
Convention	Timmons	\$ 475,000	Includes all 1701 and White House travel to and from convention site. Timmons has justified this figure and believes it will not be changed even if the convention site is.
Political	La Rue/Flemming	\$ 211,000	Includes all costs (salaries, payroll burden, travel) for running Political Division. Does <u>not</u> include any costs associated with state support.
PR/Media	Miller/Shumway	\$ 740,000	All expenses associated with Division: salaries, travel, payroll burden, and all Division programs.
Polling	Teeter	\$ 750,000	Best estimate of what we think will be requested and needed between now and November.
Research and Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations	Marik	\$ 6,785,000	\$4,490,000 for direct mail; \$1,900,000 for telephone operations; \$180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing; balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden.
Special groups and committees including all voter bloc groups and Citizens activity plus Women (Volunteers) and Ballot Security	Malek/Hutar/Chotiner	\$ 2,354,000	A realistic budget for the dozen special groups and committees plus the overall Citizens activity. Also includes national volunteers program and ballot security program. Less than 1968 figure.
Spokesmen Resources (Scheduling and Tour Offices)	Porter/Foust	\$ 725,000	Represents entire cost of program: surrogates, athletes, celebrities, American Music, scheduling, travel, charters, rallies, payroll, payroll burden.
Administration	Magruder/Odle	\$ 225,000	Primarily salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc.
Office Administration	Odle	\$ 420,000	Rents, telephones, furniture, equipment, autos, typewriters, leasehold improvements, etc.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 27,718,000	
Funds spent prior to April 7		\$ 3,110,000	Includes all funds spent by all divisions but does not include any pre-payments.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 30,828,000	
Finance Committee Budget	Stans/Sloan	\$ 865,000	Does not include costs of running Division offices, telephones, etc., which are included above.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 31,693,000	
State Support	La Rue/Flemming		
TOTAL			

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 5, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Jeb suggested that I give you a brief analysis of the budgeting process we have been going through for the last several weeks.

We began by asking each Division head to submit a budget which would include the amount of money he would like to do the job he wanted to do. In other words, each was asked to submit, in effect, a campaign plan in dollar figures. Hence, many of the budgets were greatly in excess of what is practical or even desirable. But we wanted to start at the top and work down.

I then took each Division budget and ran it by Paul Barrick, our controller. Paul and I went over each, moved expenses from one Division to another, eliminated duplications, etc.

A meeting was then held with Magruder, Malek, La Rue, and Odle to review \$44 million worth of requests which had come in. After one long meeting and three cuts at it, we arrived at a \$35 million budget (exclusive of Finance) and it was then approved by Magruder, Malek, La Rue, and Odle as a budget that we should propose to Mr. Mitchell.

At that point, a controversy arose between the Finance and non-Finance people as to whether 1701 should attempt to support the state committees' budgets or the states and counties' budgets as well. Since the Political Division (Flemming et al) does not have all the budgets for the states in on either of these bases, it was decided to remove all state support costs from the budget and agree on a total dollar figure which would be exclusive of state support.

The budget proposed by the campaign committee to the finance committee is attached. It envisions a \$31.7 million campaign exclusive of state support. That figure would include all moneys spent from inception of 1701 (April 1971) to the end. However, all moneys spent from inception through April 6 are lumped together towards the end of the budget.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

Since the preparation of this proposed budget, the Budget Committee (Mitchell, Stans, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Sloan, La Rue, Odle) has met five times to review the various categories. In each of these sessions, one or two Division heads come in to defend their budgets.

Except for Polling and Spokesmen Resources, who will defend their budgets next week, we now have almost unanimous agreement on the proposed dollar figures for each Division (The convention budget up-date will have to wait until Timmons' team gets back from Miami).

Also by next week we should have semi-final state support figures which would be added to the \$31.7 million figure.

We'll keep you posted.

Please call me if you have any questions.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 16, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

As you know, John Ehrlichman has criticized the new publication of our Media/PR Division, "Lift of Leadership." John's comments to Bob Haldeman outline his dissatisfaction with several points of style, with a typographical error and with one substantive point.

For your information, I have discussed with Van Shumway and those responsible for the publication process that was used in reviewing the publication with the Domestic Council and I have summarized below the actions which were taken in response to John Ehrlichman's criticism.

From the point of view of style, John felt that the title "Lift of Leadership" and the first few pages concerning the "Energy in the Executive" were ineffective. These points were derived from earlier publications, a special insert to FIRST MONDAY, "Report on the Presidency," The Nixon Record: The First Thirty Months (attached), and we feel were both appropriate and entirely consistent with earlier themes presenting the strengths of this Administration. Another point of style to which John Ehrlichman objected was in the selection of several pictures. All pictures were cleared with Ollie Atkins in the White House Photo Office and are official photographs.

The typographical error to which there was objection has been corrected. With respect to the one point concerning substance, the omission of the D.C. crime statistics under the law section, the section has been corrected to include mention of the President's record of accomplishment in the District.

CONFIDENTIAL

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-2-

The text of the "Lift of Leadership" book was reviewed by the Domestic Council staff for four weeks from February 27 until March 28 and virtually all of the substantive corrections that were suggested by the Domestic Council staff through Ed Harper were incorporated in the final copy.

Attachments

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# First Monday

October 4, 1971



President Nixon last week addressed the annual meeting of the National League of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. He reassured the group that the problem of obtaining release of American POW's and MIA's is one that continues to have "Presidential Priority." Here, the Chief Executive greets Doug Rice of New York City, whose brother, Navy Lt. Chuck Rice, is missing in action.

## Report on the Presidency

(Special center pages)

# First Monday

October 4, 1971

Republican National Committee  
310 First Street Southeast  
Washington, D.C. 20003

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Second class postage pending  
at Washington, D.C.



## Quest of New Greatness

At their annual conference in Puerto Rico last month, the nation's 50 governors asked me to serve as their personal "trouble shooter in Washington."

I accepted because, as a former Governor, I am keenly aware of the unbelievable frustrations in trying to get Congress or the federal bureaucracy to budge on matters of vital state and local interest.

But I also accepted because, for the first time in forty years, the flow of power from the people to the federal government is actually being reversed.

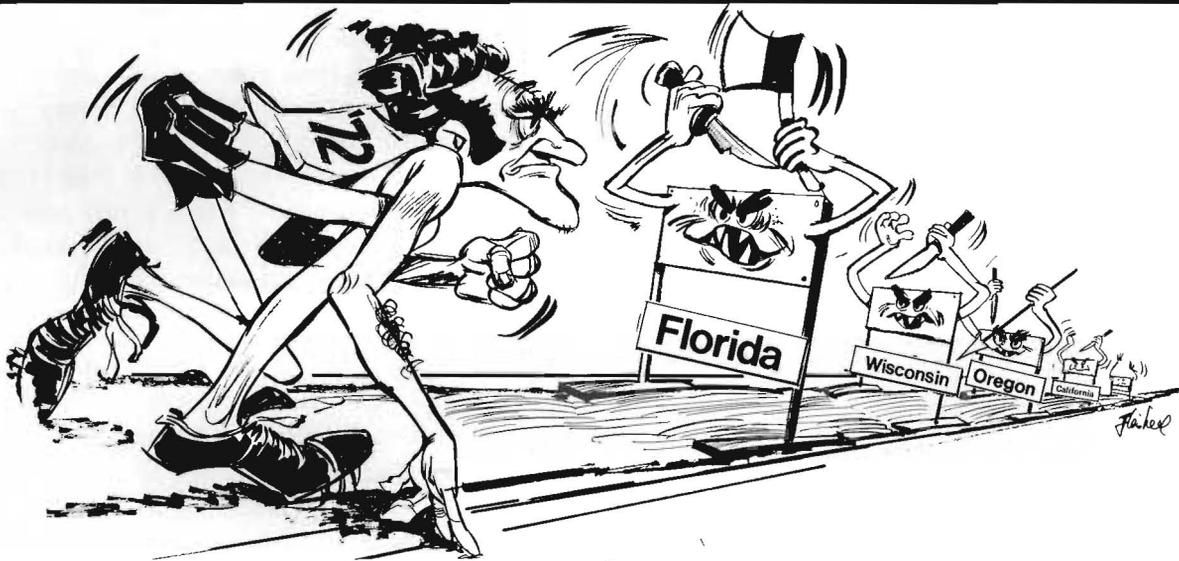
The "great vision of America" put forth by President Nixon is nowhere more evident than in his Administration's understanding of the American people's real needs—beyond the bureaucratic barriers of the federal establishment.

Of all the responsibilities assigned to the office of the Vice President, none is more personally rewarding to me than my job as the President's representative in state and local matters. With the backing of an entire Administration dedicated to making government responsive, I have the President's personal assurance that my own commitments to the governors and mayors will be followed by positive action.

The record of President Nixon's husbandry of America's trust—as outlined in these pages—is the record of a President leading a people who "are eager to get on with the quest of new greatness."

And that is why I not only accept the governors' invitation—I welcome it with sincere gratitude.

*Spiro T. Agnew*



**SEN. MUSKIE'S COMING ORDEAL; OR, HOW TO SUCCEED AT FAILING WITHOUT EVEN TRYING**

As summer recedes, the view from Kennebunkport, Maine has become gradually overcast. In June, the 1972 primaries were shaping up as a series of Muskie triumphs over lesser opponents in an uninterrupted promenade to the party's nomination. In October those primaries now loom as a menacing gauntlet of three-months duration, from which the Presidential dreams of Edmund Muskie are not likely to survive. In nine months, Muskie has managed a clean sweep—he has lost popularity in the nation, support in his party, standing in the polls, and enthusiasm and momentum in his campaign.

**The End of Inevitability**

- 1) A front-runner customarily frightens or drives competition from the field from the seeming inevitability of his candidacy. With Muskie, on the contrary, the reverse is true. Hardly a week goes by that some new Democrat does not hint his intentions or announce his determination to go after the nomination. This proliferation of candidates is less a sign of party strength than a commonly shared assessment of Muskie weakness.
- 2) A front-runner, the likely party nominee, is normally accorded a deference, respect and even indulgence—commensurate with his potential position as standard bearer. But no sooner had Muskie's gaffe about no blacks on the ticket hit the wires, than his erstwhile colleagues in the Senate fell upon him and savaged him—like a pack of wolves on a wounded stag.
- 3) A front-runner has the whip hand to extract commitments from the uncommitted, to pressure fence-straddlers down off the fence. Yet, the reverse has

been true of the Muskie campaign. Week after week, one former Muskie loyalist or backer after another announces that he is now adopting a "wait-and-see" attitude. More and more of the party officers and rank-and-file are publicly "looking" for a new face.

- 4) A front-runner is not normally treated by Governors in big-bloc states in the cavalier manner in which prospective backer John Gilligan is treating Muskie—denying the latter primary access to a crucial bloc of big state Democrats. Such an act of *lese majeste* would be well nigh suicidal were Muskie really viewed as the coming nominee of his party.

**The Summer of '71**

Any reasonable observer we believe would concur with this crucial observation: Edmund Muskie is weaker in his party than he was six months ago. The Democratic primaries are shaping up as far more difficult trials than they were six months ago.

At the beginning of summer, we listed four contingences standing between Muskie and the nomination. In one way or another all four have come to pass. 1) Lindsay *has* switched to the Democratic Party, indicating his intention to run. 2) The Florida Primary looms more and more as a dangerous ditch for the Muskie bandwagon. 3) Edward Kennedy *is* showing an active interest in the nomination now and 4) Muskie has committed the major "gaffe" we anticipated—i.e., when he ruled all blacks out of consideration for the vice presidential nomination.

**No "Muskie Democrats"**

Muskie's campaign is in deep trouble. Heretofore his clinching argument for the nomination was that he was the choice of his party in the polls, and the most likely victor over Mr. Nixon in the Presidential election. Well, Dr. Gallup has changed all that. Muskie

*(Continued next page)*

## First Monday

has fallen behind Kennedy in his party polls; and fallen far below the President in the Presidential sweepstakes. Frankly, there is no real reservoir of support for this introverted, aloof man to fall back on. There is no such animal as a "Muskie Democrat" as one might say there are "Nixon Republicans" or "Goldwater Republicans" or "Kennedy Democrats." Further, Muskie is without any broad distinct national program which might attract the young or the committed to his flag.

His consumer tax credit in response to the President's sweeping economic reforms reeked of freshly prepared snake oil; and was laughed out of court by the nation's press.

His warm embrace of bussing as a "useful tool" in racially balancing the schools is not only socially ridiculous, but politically disastrous. "Bussing Ed Muskie" is neither wise in policy nor winning politics, North or South—and Muskie's position reflects a lack of touch with public opinion and a slavish adherence to the Establishment line—light years out of style with the thinking and politics of the 1970's.

His outrageous slur on black Democrats, the backbone of his party, by ruling any of their number out for consideration as Vice President has as predicted—fueled a fourth-party black Democrat Presidential drive. If black Rep. Shirley Chisholm runs for the Presidency, if a black party is formed out of the rib cage of the Democrats—then Ed Muskie can claim paternity.

### Mea Culpa Politics

Another endemic Muskie problem is his continuing reliance upon and adherence to kooky advice from his youthful advisers. Instead of talking of the issues of concern to Governors in San Juan, Muskie threw away his text and indulged in sackcloth-and-ashes rhetoric ("We are all guilty for Attica") that went out with the Kerner Commission and the Chicago Convention. The Governors were rightly appalled by the breast-beating sermon. An opportunity was lost; and new doubts raised about whether Muskie really knows what he is doing.

With six months to go until the Presidential primaries, here is the way **FIRST MONDAY** sees Muskie's chances:

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**—A sure winner for Muskie here. But since he is front-runner, since N.H. is his back-

yard, since his competition is similar to that of President Nixon in 1968 (one active candidate, one major write-in opponent) Muskie's victory will be measured against Richard Nixon's 80 percent landslide. If Muskie comes in, in the low seventies, or upper sixties, it will not so much advance his candidacy as raise doubts about it. Thus, Muskie in New Hampshire has little to gain and much to lose.

**FLORIDA**—One week after New Hampshire, this primary looms as a major hurdle for Muskie. He could conceivably fall flat on his face here. Whereas at summer's beginning, it looked like a sure victory with Jackson on the Right and McGovern on the Left, the picture is more cloudy now. Rep. Chisholm is likely to get much of the black vote; what is left is probably the property of John Lindsay; the latter and McGovern will take the youth vote; Jackson will skim off the union vote—and George Wallace could be working the North Florida precincts where the major issues are things other than phosphates in detergents and alligators in the Everglades.

**WISCONSIN**—Another hurdle for Muskie, and a particularly difficult one if he has already been winged in Florida. Here, McGovern could cut into a Muskie majority; and a Proxmire candidacy would conceivably defeat the Maine Senator.

**INDIANA**—While Birch Bayh has not exactly set the world on fire in his pursuit of the nomination—presumably he could run a strong race in his own home state primary—if rival Democratic Sen. Vance Hartke chooses not to play dog-in-the-manger.

**OREGON**—Lindsay has good strength here on the left and on the right of the Democratic Party; there is understandably attachment to good neighbor Scoop Jackson, for whom Oregon is a back-yard as New Hampshire is for Mr. Muskie.

**CALIFORNIA**—The last major hurdle to the nomination, and here, Muskie is truly in trouble. The respected Field Poll shows him a two-to-one underdog to Edward Kennedy, and unless Muskie has run up an impressive string of primary victories to change that figure, and unless Kennedy steps back and lets Muskie win by default in California, Muskie faces a most unenviable situation. A crushing defeat in the Democratic Primary in the nation's largest state could be the shocker that could convince the Democratic powers that they *had* to turn elsewhere to win.

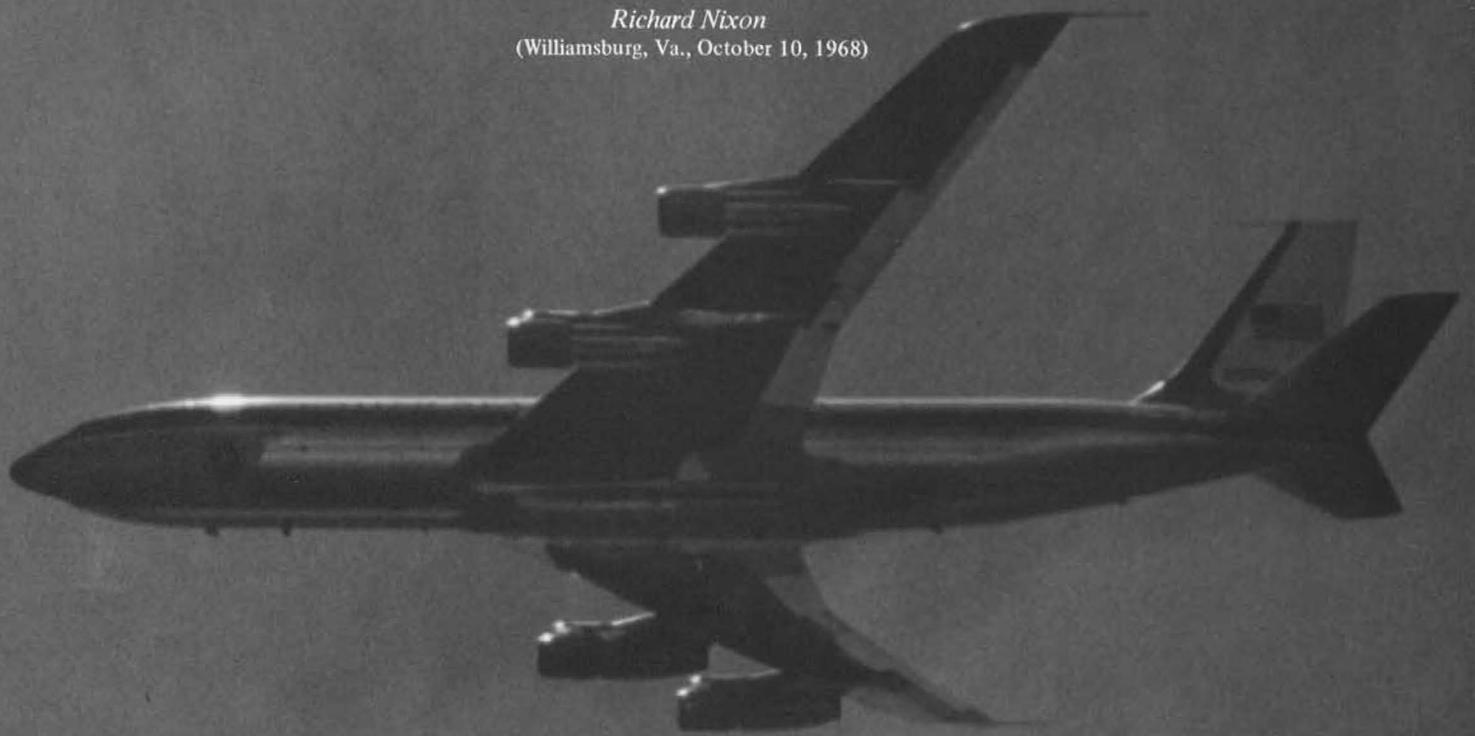
# A Report on a Positive Presidency

October, 1971

## The Lift of Leadership

The President who takes office in 1969 will lead this nation in its reach for greatness only if he summons a new spirit of '76—a spirit conceived in old glories, born to speak to its own time, destined to shape a glorious future.

*Richard Nixon*  
(Williamsburg, Va., October 10, 1968)



"A large vision of America has been put forth...a record of much genuine achievement." Daniel P. Moynihan

# Energy in the Executive

In his farewell remarks to the Nixon Cabinet before returning to academe at the end of 1970, Presidential Counselor Daniel P. Moynihan eloquently captured the spirit, the drive and the vision embodied in the vast accomplishments of the Nixon Administration at mid-term.

However: "I am concerned," he told his colleagues, "that the approach of another national political season may have ended the little time allowed any President to speak for all the nation and address himself to the realities of the possible."

That concern has occupied scholars and challenged Presidents since the advent of the American system of self-government.

The year before George Washington took office, Alexander Hamilton—in *The Federalist*—foresaw that a four-year presidential term might seriously affect "the spirit and character of government;" that, "as a President approached a new election, his firmness could decline."

But he also saw—as did Dr. Moynihan—that that very challenge could spur a President of deep character to "devote his stewardship to achieving, with fortitude, the measures he might incline to pursue." Hamilton called it the need to sustain "energy in the Executive."

The record of the Nixon Administration clearly confirms the most optimistic hope of *The Federalist*. Richard Nixon moved into 1971 deploying energy in the Executive more creatively, more purposefully, and more productively than ever.

On January 16, 1971 he stood before the Joint Session of the 92nd Congress and delivered a State of the Union Address that called for "a new American Revolution—a peaceful revolution to turn power back to the people."

The President's historic address was followed by a separate "State of the Union Message on Foreign Affairs" in February. Its thrust: "A world of opportunity in a world without war."

On July 15 the President stunned the world with his announcement that he would embark on a "Journey for Peace" to the People's Republic of China.

On August 15, his momentous announcement of a forceful new design for economic stability was hailed by thoughtful Americans as the highest level of gratifying leadership.



## THE SPIRIT OF '76

In July, President Nixon officially designated Air Force One as *The Spirit of '76*—honoring the new spirit of America today and heralding the 200th birthday of our Nation. Photographer Byron Schumaker snapped this cover picture of the newly christened Presidential jet through the starboard hatch of an accompanying plane—high over the Sierras.



# A Positive Presidency

## Inaugural Peace Theme Hailed

WASHINGTON POST  
Jan. 21, 1969

The 37th President's inaugural prophecy of attainable world peace was based on some fundamental conditions—deep rooted world knowledge, astute diplomacy coupled with unceasing vigilance, and unremitting hard work.

Richard Nixon was remarkably equipped to meet all of them. Under his stewardship, the United States and the world community have moved rapidly toward the President's first great goal: "A full generation of peace."

### Vietnam Action Gives Nation Hope

DETROIT FREE PRESS  
May 1, 1971

The new President inherited a massive and costly involvement in Vietnam. 549,500 American troops were on the scene. 31,000 already had died there and the list was growing by about 300 new names a week. No end or exit in sight.

President Nixon moved immediately forward with a studied, three-phase plan of negotiation, Vietnamization and American troop withdrawals.

By May 1969: a generous new American proposal to get the stalled Paris talks moving.

By June 1969: a re-invigorated ARVN taking over the fighting and the recall of 25,000 Americans (the first troop reversal since this nation became involved in the war).

By December 1st of this year: a total of 365,000 Americans will have been brought home (more than two-thirds of the 1968 force).

Two significant Allied incursions were ordered to speed the war's end. The courageous Presidential decisions to strike into Cambodia (June 1970), and support the ARVN Laotian incursion (February 1971) were made in the face of expected political/critical storms.

The critics were wrong.

The bold thrusts crippled the enemy's war machine, cleaned out his sanctuaries, disrupted his supply lines, and bought time for the final phases of Vietnamization. And they did what the President was aiming for when he weighed the risks—they cut American casualties down to a minimum and reduced the overall fighting.

By Summer of 1971: American combat deaths averaged 25 a week (less than 10 percent of the toll three years ago), and were still declining.

But, in the President's words, one death would still be too many. Thus the push for a swift end to the conflict through negotiated settlement has had top priority.

On October 7, 1970, he announced a comprehensive proposal for an immediate cease-fire-in-place, coupled with an Indo-china peace conference, a political settlement, mutual troop withdrawal and immediate release of all prisoners.

The plan was hailed by the free world and had the approval of every nation involved in the war save one—North Vietnam. The President's offer remains on the table.



## Vietnamese Can Hack it, Gen. Abrams Tells President

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
June 5, 1971

## NIXON HAS THE WHOLE WORLD WITH HIM

(BBC)

Under President Nixon's leadership, American diplomacy has moved into the realities of the late 20th Century. Two principles guide the Nixon approach in foreign policy: (1) Partnership, not paternalism, in our relations with world friends and allies. Decisions jointly made and burdens fairly shared. The philosophy has become known as the Nixon Doctrine. (2) Negotiation, not confrontation, has become the rule in dealing with adversaries and resolving international differences.

The Nixon Doctrine was enunciated by the President in the summer of 1969. Its initial focus was Asia and the Pacific. It is the key to the dramatically increased self-sufficiency of Vietnam and the extended economic and military assistance to Cambodia minus the commitment of ground combat forces. Under the Doctrine the American military presence in Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, Japan and Okinawa has been reduced by a total of 62,000 men. A treaty returning control of Okinawa to Japan was signed on June 17 of this year.

### Journey for Peace

Within ten days after taking office, President Nixon began a series of carefully graduated moves to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China—after two decades of implacable, mutual hostility.

World leaders began to have some inkling of the President's vast global design in April 1971, when the United States' table tennis team was invited by Peking to visit the mainland. The President immediately followed up by relaxing further trade and travel restrictions. In June, he freed a broad range of non-strategic export-import goods between the two countries.

But, not even the most hopeful global thinkers were prepared for the enormity of the President's July 15th announcement that he would undertake a personal Journey for Peace to Peking.

## Exuberant Response

(TIME)

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# Nixon Broke Berlin Talks Deadlock

LOS ANGELES TIMES  
Aug. 3, 1971

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## Nixon's Mideast Policy A Working Reality

DETROIT NEWS  
March 7, 1971

The cease-fire which the Administration helped arrange in 1970, is now going into its second year. It was a gigantic step toward breaking the stalemate between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and averting a confrontation between the superpowers. With the fighting stopped, America continues to press for a peace settlement. At the same time, the President is committed to maintaining the balance of power.

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## Nixon's Realistic Formula For Western Hemisphere

KANSAS CITY STAR  
Feb. 2, 1970

The success of President Nixon's partnership policy is evident in the United States' strengthened ties with Mexico.

Tensions with Peru were submerged by America's heroic relief effort following the disastrous 1970 earthquake. Mrs. Nixon's personal mission to the stricken country in 1970 is counted by the Peruvian people as a shining example of American goodwill.

The President's measured and restrained reaction to the accession of a Marxist government in Chile gave support to his stated belief that our attitude toward any nation would be determined by its attitude toward us.

The importance of the emerging African nations in Nixon foreign policy was emphasized by two highly significant official visits. William Rogers' extensive coverage of the continent in January 1970 marked the first official African tour by an American Secretary of State. And, in July of this year Vice President Agnew served as the President's personal emissary to heads of State.

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## President's Massive Message Offers A Better Foreign Policy

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
Feb. 20, 1970

In one of his earliest Presidential actions, the new Chief Executive commissioned a special task force and charged its members with putting a reasonable,

manageable handle on foreign assistance.

Its recommendations became the basis for sweeping reforms recommended to Congress in September 1970. In April 1971, the President reported substantial progress and submitted legislation: (1) to separate aid into basic categories (i.e., security, development and humanitarian); (2) channel aid through multi-lateral institutions when feasible; and (3) replace the AID with a U.S. International Development Corporation and a U.S. International Development Institute.

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## Nuclear Treaty, Peace Milestone

WASHINGTON POST  
March 6, 1970

In one of the most important actions since chemical arms were discovered, President Nixon flatly denounced biological warfare weapons. He extended the United States ban on first use of lethal chemical weapons to include incapacitating chemicals and he has renewed the fight for Senate approval of the long-standing 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawing biological weapons in war.

In March 1970 the milestone Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was ratified and, in February of this year, a civilization-saving treaty banning nuclear weapons from the seabeds was signed with Britain, the USSR and 59 other nations.

Under the President's direction, America has taken the lead in curbing international exploitation of oceanic resources and in developing strict conventions to prevent oil pollution.

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## The World Community

The vigorous participation of American Ambassadors and the President's own addresses before the General Assembly, give testimony to the Nixon Administration's support of a strong United Nations—and to Mr. Nixon's belief in the power of the world forum in international relations.

He helped secure agreement with the Organization of American States on the prevention of terrorism and kidnapping, and submitted the Genocide Treaty and the Hague Convention on Hijacking for Senate approval.

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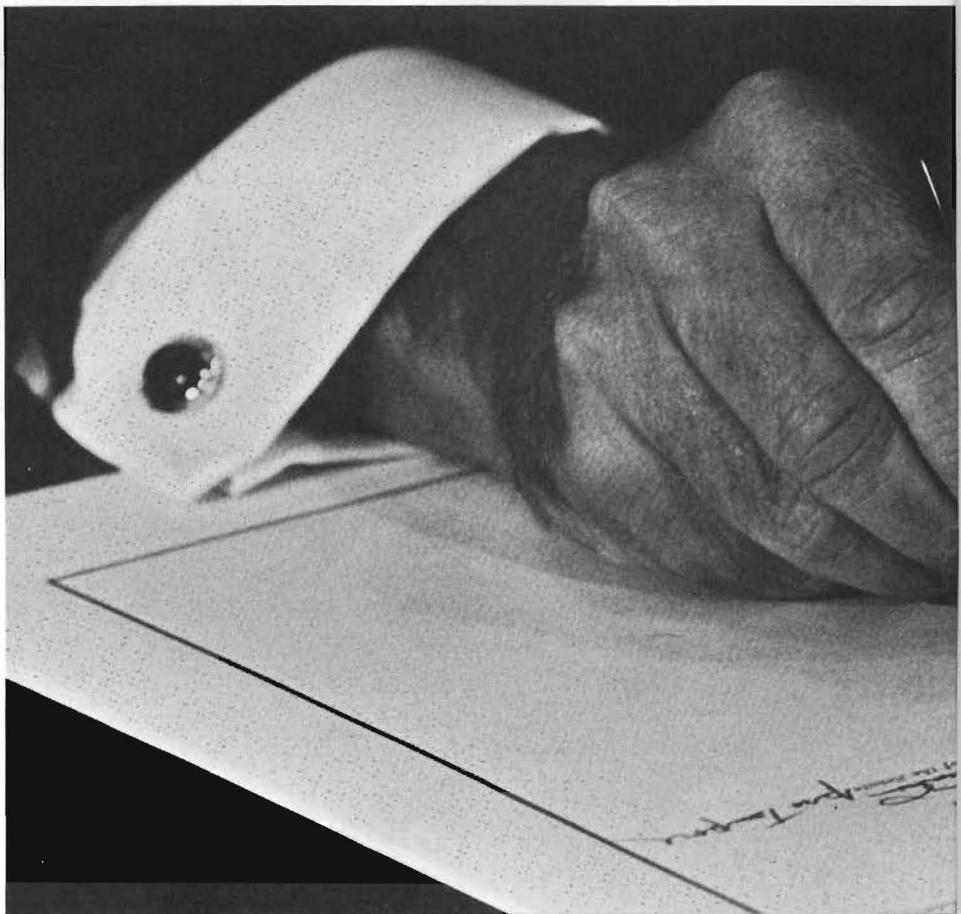
# Nixon: A Man of Principle

NEW YORK TIMES  
March 16, 1971

*"We do no seek power as an end in itself. We seek power adequate to our purpose, and our purpose is peace."*

For the first time in twenty years, the Presidential budget for Fiscal '71 provided more dollars for human resources than for military purposes.

At the same time, the President has cut no corners on preparedness. The Senate has twice sustained his plans for ABM Safeguard deployment and both the Poseidon missile at sea and the Minuteman III on land are being deployed apace. Improved hardware and upgraded service efficiency will offset reduced manpower levels.



## Nixon Urges Draft Lottery

WASHINGTON STAR  
May 19, 1969

The single greatest cause of youth unrest in the late '60's—the inequitable draft system—received priority attention of the new Administration.

With the ultimate goal of an all-volunteer armed force, the President moved, meanwhile, to make the existing draft less onerous. Late in 1969, the lottery system was instituted, reducing the period of prime draft vulnerability from seven years to one and ending both occupational and paternity deferments. The 1971 extension of Selective Service phases out student deferments and equalizes nationwide lottery number call-ups.

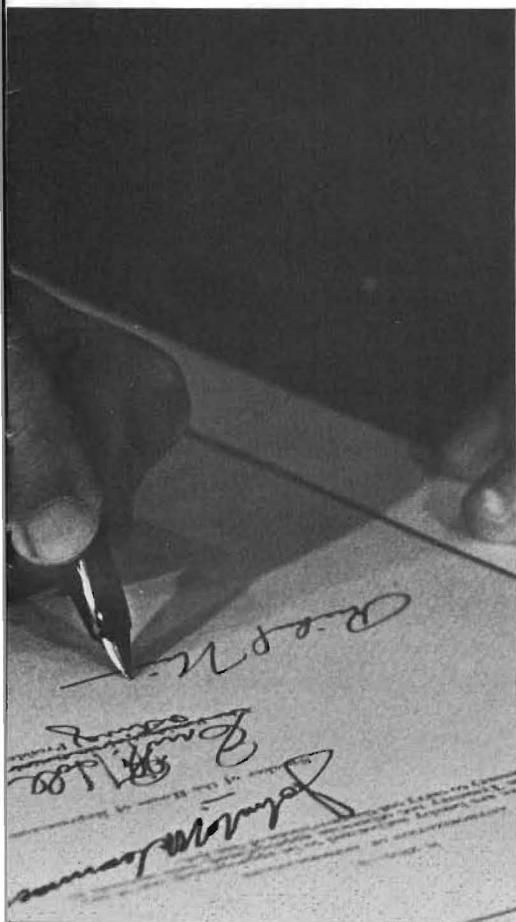
The President's target date for change-over to a complete volunteer force is July 1, 1973.

## Students Hail Nixon's Draft Plan

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
May 19, 1969

## The President Toward Youth: Dignity and Understanding

WASHINGTON STAR  
Jan 21, 1971



## Nixon Revolution—Farewell to Yesterday

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER  
Jan. 25, 1971

*"A new American Revolution—a peaceful Revolution to turn power back to the people."*

## Mayors Back Nixon Revenue Plan

BALTIMORE SUN  
Feb. 24, 1971

To reverse the four-decade flow of power to Washington; rescue democracy from under the costly layers of bureaucracy; relieve the financial crisis of the States and cities; and make government responsive to the real needs of the people—these were his goals. (1) General Revenue Sharing—1.3% share of Federal personal income tax to the States with a pass-through of about half of the funds to localities; (2) Special Revenue Sharing—a package of six programs (manpower, law enforcement, education, transportation, urban and rural development), funded by the \$10 billion now being parcelled out under 130 grant programs and augmented by \$1 billion-plus in new money

## President's Policy Marks Welcome Chapter in Federal Administration

HARTFORD TIMES  
June 15, 1971

To move the federal government into the realities of management in the '70's and curtail the serious overlap of departmental functions, the President called for a sweeping reorganization of the Executive Branch. Of the 11 existing Cabinet departments only State, Defense, Justice and the Treasury would remain unchanged. The other seven would be reshaped into four broadly functioning areas: Human Resources, Natural Resources, Community Development and Economic Affairs.

The Office of Management and Budget has superceded the old Budget Bureau as watchdog of policy execution, and two new Cabinet-level groups have been created— Domestic Affairs and International Economic Policy.

In 1969 the President reorganized OEO into a pilot program laboratory and took it out of its old cross-purpose operational role.

On August 8, 1969, the President presented his plan for national welfare reform to the American people: "A system that is fair to the poor, fair to the taxpayer and true to the spirit of independence that has built America."

## Nixon's Bold Approach to Welfare

BOSTON GLOBE  
Aug. 12, 1969

As passed by the House and now awaiting Senate action, his "workfare" package includes: (1) uniform national standards of eligibility, a \$2,400 income floor for a family of four; (2) work incentives, retention of proportionate welfare benefits for the working poor; (3) strict work and training requirements and placement services to speed transition from welfare rolls to payrolls; (4) help for families headed by men to curtail breaking up of homes; (5) guarantees to keep State welfare costs at or below 1971 levels and to encourage States to supplement Federal support payments.

## President's 'New American Revolution:' Exciting. Can Bring Real Progress.

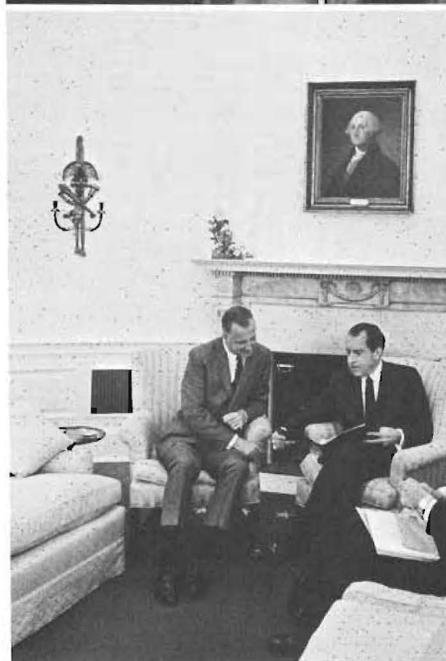
DENVER POST  
Jan. 21, 1971

## Nixon's on Target

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE  
Jan. 21, 1971

# President's Tenacity Pays Off In SALT Stalemate Breakthrough

OMAHA WORLD HERALD  
June 22, 1971



## House Unit Votes Yes On Nixon's Welfare Reform

NEW YORK TIMES  
March 6, 1970

In May 1969, President Nixon mobilized his Administration against the "intolerables" of hunger and malnutrition amid abundance.

Basic reforms in the Food Stamp program have increased recipients from 2.9 million in 1968 to 10.5 million this year. Food assistance recipients now number 14.2 million as compared with 6.6 million and only 9 counties in the country are now without family food programs. School lunch programs have increased from 3 million to 7.4 million. More than 10,000 nutritionists now work in low income communities. In 1968 there were none.

## Nixon Talks Budget Sense

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS  
Jan 27, 1971

The Federal budget had been in deficit since 1965. Coupled with a period of full employment generated by wartime production and the support of a massive defense establishment, these successive deficits had triggered a raging inflation.

Committed to "a new prosperity, without inflation and without war," the President's task was not only to check the vicious wage-price spiral, but also to keep employment up during the transition to a peacetime economy.

(To date, more than 2 million people have been released from defense industries and the armed forces).

His first move attacked the rise in living costs. He trimmed his inherited budget of Fiscal '69 into a surplus, and continued the discipline into Fiscal 1970 by veto of runaway spending bills. He won his fight for extension of the income surtax and challenged Congress to cut 57 obsolete Federal programs.

Moving into 1971, he achieved a steel price-increase rollback. He established a labor-management-public committee to promote wage-price stabilization in the construction industry, and vetoed a \$2 billion accelerated public works bill that would have generated severe pressures.

Taken together, his actions braked the inflation to 4% in the first half of 1971 from its 6% high of 1969.

## Nixon Pushes Job Help for Viet Veterans

WASHINGTON POST  
March 13, 1971

Meanwhile, as the wind-down of the Vietnam war released increasing numbers from their jobs and as inflationary demands were curbed, the unemployment rate had edged upward.

The President moved to help those caught in the transition. The Jobs for Veterans Program, by his order, facilitates referral of veterans to Federal and federally-contracted job openings.

He has also worked to minimize employment losses in defense and aerospace industries. Two examples were the inherent employment in the extension of loan guarantees to Lockheed and his effort to save the SST. In the spring of this year, he initiated a \$42 million program to aid jobless engineers and scientists.

The President signed into law his proposal to add nearly 5 million workers to the unemployment insurance system and to expand the size and duration of benefits.

## Nixon Manpower Program Holds Promise of Success

DETROIT FREE PRESS  
March 8, 1971

He asked Congress to replace \$1.5 billions in Washington-run manpower training programs with a \$2 billion Special Revenue Sharing for Manpower. This would permit States and cities to tailor their programs to the specific needs of their own labor markets.

The President has urged the provision of 200,000 public service employment jobs as part of welfare reform and the creation of 150,000 of these jobs under the new Emergency Employment Act of 1971. Government-assisted job opportunities for disadvantaged youth in 1971 were at an all-time high of 824,000.

### Barometers

While unemployment remained as a worrisome national problem at the 6% level, other major barometers clearly indicated that the pace of economic activity was accelerating.

The Gross National Product, in *real* terms (excluding the effect of price increases), grew at an encouraging annual rate of over 6% during the first half of this year. Consumer spending quickened and automobile sales ran at a 9-10 million annual rate. New housing starts reached their highest level in twenty years.

# Mr. Nixon Makes Sense

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
Nov. 16, 1970

Indicative of the President's long view of a balanced and healthy American economy was his call for the White House Conference this year on "The Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990."

In the vital area of industrial and individual mobility, the President's programs are expanding and modernizing America's merchant fleet, establishing an Airport and Airway Trust Fund and revitalizing rail passenger service.

His plan to support and assist small business went to Congress in 1970. His message on national energy needs—an historic first—was presented this June. He obtained his requested legislation to regulate one-bank holding companies and to insure investors against brokerage failures. He has established a Presidential Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation to study the needs of American capital. It was a fine record. The trillion-dollar U.S. economy was adjusting to a settling change from a decade of disruptive explosions. Inflation had been dampened. Business activity was picking up.

Then Richard Nixon made his bold move. On August 15th, he outlined to the American people the most sweeping design for economic stability undertaken by any Administration in forty years:

## GRAND DESIGN FOR RECOVERY

TIME  
Aug. 1971

...Investment tax credits to create new jobs and stimulate employment; repeal of the automobile excise tax; advance of the \$50 personal income tax exemption a full year (to 1972).

Revenue losses to be accompanied by federal belt tightening; a 10% cut in foreign aid; deferral of effective dates for revenue sharing and welfare reform (both still awaiting Congressional action);

postponement of Federal pay raises.

A 90-day freeze on wages and prices to halt the already weakened inflationary spiral; a Cost of Living Council to work with management and labor to maintain stability after the freeze.

Suspension of the convertibility of the dollar into gold; and a temporary 10% import surcharge.

There were few who could doubt that in his quest of "a new prosperity, without inflation and without war" President Nixon was indeed addressing himself to the realities of the possible.

## Nixon Health Plan Sound, Sharply Upgrades Protection

ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT  
Feb. 19, 1971

President Nixon's proposal for a realistic National Health Strategy was presented to Congress in February.

**A Better Health Care System.** Funding, incentives and legislation to encourage growth of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's). Reform and increase medical school grants. More aid for low-income students; train more technicians; fund health education and medical centers in deprived rural areas and inner cities; loan forgiveness to medical personnel who locate in scarcity areas; a National Health Service Corps.

**Access to the System.** A National Health Insurance Act; employer share of premiums; Family Health Insurance Plan with federally funded coverage for the poor replacing the inequities and variations of Medicaid; deepened Federal commitment to biomedical research. A private National Health Education Foundation; increased funds for highway and job safety, and alcoholism treatment.

Much of the plan is still tied up in Congress. However, the first HMO development grants were awarded by HEW in June; health service centers in poverty areas have increased four times since early 1969; health planning agencies have doubled and now serve half the population.

## President Takes Personal Charge of Cancer Fight

WASHINGTON POST  
May 12, 1971

Congress has responded to the President's call for a national commitment to the conquest of cancer. The extra \$100 million appropriation was signed into law late in May. The Senate has approved his request for an independent Cancer-Cure Program reporting straight to the President.

## We Welcome Nixon's Attack on Drugs In Schools

WICHITA EAGLE  
March 16, 1970

The President has escalated the war against drug abuse. In 1970 he established a National Clearinghouse on Drug Abuse Information; obtained Congressional approval to reform the Federal drug enforcement laws.

Command center of his "new, all out offensive" is the new Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention to coordinate the work of Federal agencies.

The Defense Department has massed an attack to identify and rehabilitate servicemen addicts. V.A. assistance will be increased.

## Nixon Blocks Narcotics Traffic

WASHINGTON STAR  
June 6, 1971

The President has intensified the drive to cut drug availability at the source, beefing up the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Bureau of Customs, and the Internal Revenue Service. Cooperating with France, Mexico, Turkey and several Asian nations the Bureau has dealt smashing blows to traffickers. On June 30 the President announced Turkey will cease all opium poppy production within one year—source of more than half the heroin entering the United States. He has asked that drug abuse battle funds be hiked two-thirds over his original request, to a total of \$371 million in Fiscal '72.

# Nixon's Environment Plan Historic

CHARLESTON GAZETTE  
July 20, 1970

## A Presidential Push On Pollution—Pronto

MIAMI HERALD  
Dec. 27, 1970

In February 1970 President Nixon sent Congress a 37-point environmental quality program covering the water, air, waste, noise, parks and recreation. He called for direct action, tough laws, new incentives and extensive research. Meanwhile, he moved through executive action: a new Council on Environmental Quality to work with his Cabinet Committee on Environment; a National Industrial Pollution Control Council to deepen public involvement. He mandated pollution abatement by Federal facilities and low-lead gasoline for Federal vehicles.

## President Firm in Fight to Save The Environment

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
Feb. 9, 1970

In July 1970 he submitted a reorganization plan to combine elements and responsibilities from nine agencies into a new Environmental Protection Agency; Congress approved, and the EPA was in business by December. The President's air quality proposals were signed into law on the last day of 1970. This summer, the President ordered Federal aid and contracts denied to convicted air polluters.

## Nixon's Environmental Agency: Big Gain in Pollution Attack

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER  
July 10, 1970

The Environmental Protection Agency, endorsed by Congress at the President's urging in 1970, consolidates Federal watchdogging of the air, water, waste, noise, pesticides and radiation.

In 1971 the President's second environment message introduced a wide range of new proposals and urged passage of those not yet enacted by Congress: sulfur oxides emissions charge and a tax on leaded gasoline; wider enforcement power for the



EPA; more financial help for construction of waste treatment plants; new legislation on ocean dumping, noise levels, pesticides, and toxics.

He asked for: National Land Use Policy; stepped-up Legacy of Parks Program; power plant siting law; and a Mined Area Protection Act. An independent Environmental Institute for research and studies; a World Heritage Trust; and to preserve earth's treasures, oil spill prevention.

His June 4 message to the Congress initiated a drive to meet future energy needs, free of pollutants, including a commitment to bring the fast breeder nuclear reactor into a commercial energy service.

Oil drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel was halted; the Everglades saved from a super jetport; the Cross Florida Barge Canal stopped; the Alaska Pipeline project was subjected to minute scrutiny. Nearly 1400 Environmental Impact Statements on intended actions have been filed by Federal agencies. The National Park Wilderness Systems have been expanded; important parcels of Federal real estate have been turned over to States and localities for recreational use; billboard removal along Federal highways has begun; endangered wildlife from whales to bald eagles have been shielded by Federal intervention.

## Nixon Puts Teeth in Refuse Act

MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL  
Dec. 27, 1970

# We Applaud President's Crackdown on Polluters

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
Feb. 11, 1970

## New Sense of Action in Washington: Administration Emphasizes Home Front

U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT  
Feb. 9, 1970

Besides General Revenue Sharing, the President has asked Congress to combine Model Cities, urban renewal, water and sewer grants, and rehabilitation loans into a \$2 billion Special Revenue Sharing package called Urban Community Development.

With 24 million Americans living in substandard housing, HUD is conducting Operation Breakthrough to develop new low-income, industrially produced housing. Production of federally assisted housing doubled to more than 400,000 units in 1970 alone. The pioneering New Communities program is building whole new cities in five States.

Last fall, Congress passed the administration's Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act, providing \$10 billion in Federal aid to relieve metropolitan congestion over the next 12 years. Special Revenue Sharing would provide over \$2 billion for general transportation use, plus \$525 million more for mass transit capital investment.

In January 1969 President Nixon announced a program aimed at making Washington, D.C. "once again what it ought to be: a proud, glorious city, cherished by every American."

# Nixon Seeks Major Boost in Farm Aid

**Goal of \$10 Billion Exports Over Current Record of \$7.7 Billion**

*SAN DIEGO UNION*  
May 3, 1971

The Presidential inspired Agricultural Act of 1970 requires annual reports on government services to rural America. The first such report, issued this March, showed housing loans up 56%, manpower development grants up over 50%, waste treatment grants up 174% during Fiscal 1970.

President's proposed Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development would make \$1.1 billion available—a 33% increase of funds—the largest raise given any of the six Special Revenue Sharing programs.

Farm exports reached a record-high \$7.7 billion in Fiscal 1971. Price levels are strong and improving. The total income of American farmers is up. The President has moved to increase the supply of farm credit—increasing Farmers Home Administration insured loans by almost three-fourths in Fiscal 1972. He has asked Congress to permit the FHA to insure operating loans.

**FARMERS  
APPLAUD  
NIXON  
ACTION**

(CHICAGO TRIBUNE)

# Nixon's First Hundred Days Score High

*WASHINGTON STAR*  
April 30, 1969

# Nixon's Education Reform Proposals Spur a Lively Flow of Ideas

*CHICAGO TRIBUNE*  
March 22, 1970

## Education Reform

In July the President signed a record \$5.1 billion appropriation for the Office of Education.

He has established: a Commission on School Finance; a program to guarantee the right to read; a new Office of Child Development in HEW. His 1970 message on elementary and secondary education called for a new National Institute of Education. His proposed Education Special Revenue Sharing plan would allow States and localities to decide how to use \$3 billion in Federal educational funds.

The President has been adamant in his view that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money." He proposed channeling more Federal aid money to students from low income families and setting up a National Student Loan Association benefit-

ting more than two and a half million students. His Career Education Program would support critical skills education, increase the "job relevance" of college. His National Foundation for Higher Education would foster "excellence, innovation, and reform."

## Nixon's Education Goals Offer Hope to Black Children

*William Raspberry (WASHINGTON POST)*  
March 21, 1970

It was the Supreme Court order for school desegregation in 1954 which really opened the modern era of hope and progress for black Americans. Yet, in the 15 years up to 1969, a scant 6 percent of all black children in the South had been placed in legally desegregated school systems. But by the time school let out last spring, that figure stood at 92 percent!



# Nixon Strives for Equal Opportunity

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL  
March 7, 1970

In 1970 the President signed into law new amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Under it, nearly one million blacks have registered to vote for the first time. More than 400 Negroes have been elected to State and local office.

Equal employment under Federal contracts has been strongly pushed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Under President Nixon the Civil Rights Act Title VI compliance budget has more than doubled.

# Nixon Moves to Help Blacks

Victor Riesel, Feb. 4, 1971

In June, President Nixon faced the issue of fair housing head on in a comprehensive policy statement. The Administration is determined, he said, to create equal housing opportunity, so that people of the same income level will have the same range of housing choices.

Federally assisted housing starts in the low and middle income category have increased fourfold in four years: Federal facilities have been ordered to consider inexpensive housing availability in choosing new sites; and new relocation rules have been laid down to end uprooting of the poor by urban renewal projects.

Under the President's new "Black Capitalism" program, Federal loans to small minority businesses have doubled. Federal contracts, procurement, and bank deposits are being directed toward minority businesses and banks.

## Spanish-Speaking Americans

In 1969 the President signed legislation creating a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-Speaking. HEW went to work on bilingual and bi-cultural educational plans to help remedy school discrimination against Spanish-speaking children. The Civil Service Commission launched a 16-point program to open up Federal job opportunities.

# Nixon's New Square Deal for American Indians

WASHINGTON STAR  
July 10, 1970

*"The time has come...to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decision."*

His June 1970 proposals to the Congress would give Indians the opportunity to control government programs designed to help them, with special em-

phasis on encouraging greater Indian control of Indian schools. The President also pledged more money for economic development and health programs and proposed new help to Indians in urban areas. Later in 1970, the President won Congressional approval to return the sacred Indian lands—Blue Lake, New Mexico—to the Taos Pueblo.

# Mr. Nixon, The Practical President

IDAHO STATESMAN  
Aug. 20, 1969



## Women's Progress

Women also registered important gains. The President has established a special Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, to end sex discrimination on Federal contract work, and directed the heads of all Executive Departments and Agencies to implement action plans aimed at attracting more qualified women to top and mid-level appointive

positions. The President has named more women—forty—to high level posts than any previous administration. Among them, the first women to head the U.S. Tariff Commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, VISTA, and the National Endowment of the Arts. He is also the first President to nominate a woman to General rank in the military services—five of them so far.

# Nixon Has Kept Faith With American People

NASHVILLE BANNER Dec. 30, 1970

*"The era of permissiveness with regard to law enforcement is at an end in the United States."*

There is evidence that the President's war on crime is being won. In the first quarter of 1971, the rate of serious crime increase nationwide was 6 percent—lowest in five years and less than half the rate in 1970; crime decreased in 61 major cities; convictions of organized crime leaders have doubled; prosecutions of drug traffickers are up two-thirds. Civil disturb-

ances in 1970 were two-thirds below 1968.

The President has increased Justice Department funding four-fold and bolstered manpower by one-third. More marshals, FBI agents, judges, narcotics agents, and Assistant U.S. attorneys have been put in the field. He raised the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget tenfold, with \$500 million of the \$700 million requested this year earmarked to upgrade State and local police and courts through revenue sharing.

Congress last year passed the President's District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act.

Congress also enacted administration-proposed legislation attacking organized crime, including measures to curb gambling and to improve the information-gathering process. New anti-racketeering strike forces were organized in major cities. The Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 was another reform milestone.



# Great Speech to Great Nation

*BUFFALO EVENING NEWS*  
Feb. 8, 1971

*"Let us forge an alliance of the generations. Let us work together to seek out those ways by which the commitment and the compassion of one generation can be linked to the will and the experience of another so that together we can serve America better and America can better serve mankind."*

Three major White House Conferences in a twelve-month period beginning last December—on Children, on Youth, and on Aging—give evidence of the President's determination to enhance the quality of American life—from the infant's first moments in the world to the senior citizen's retirement years.

## President Has Special Tenderness for Children

*WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS*  
Feb. 6, 1970

He initiated a range of programs running from the "first five years of life" project and the National Center for Child Advocacy, to draft reform, education reform, and the Constitutional amendment making the 18-year-old vote a fundamental political right. He has assembled one of the youngest White House staffs in history.

## Nixon Hails Youth Vote As 26th Amendment Certified

*CINCINNATI INQUIRER*  
July 5, 1969

### ACTION

On July 1st, this year, the Peace Corps, VISTA, and several other Federal volunteer programs joined to form the ACTION Agency. ACTION, in partnership with the non-government National Center for Voluntary Action launched by the President in 1969, answers his Inaugural call "to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed."

# Nixon Moves to Improve Veterans' School Benefits

*ALBANY KNICKERBOCKER NEWS* March 17, 1970

The President has increased VA appropriations by nearly half since 1968. His Jobs for Veterans Program is aimed at giving the returning servicemen employment priority where possible. The GI Bill education fund has been raised 35%. For the first time, veterans' home loan interest ceilings have been reduced, and the program extended to more types of housing. Loan applications reached a 15-year peak this May. The VA is holding field seminars, writing more than a million personal

letters a year, counseling hospitalized veterans at bedside, and conducting a battle-field outreach program.

Three new VA hospitals have been opened during the last 31 months, and six more are under construction—budgeted this year at 11 times the 1969 level. Medical research funds are up by one-third in the Fiscal 1972 budget, and 27 new drug abuse centers will soon join the five already in operation.



## President's "Buyer's Bill of Rights:" Solid Step in Right Direction

*CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER* Nov. 1, 1969

### Older Americans

The President reaffirmed his support for the senior citizens' income floor embodied in the welfare reform bill; for higher widows' benefits; and for a cost-of-living escalator to make social security, (raised 25% over the past two years but still too low in many cases) secure against inflation. He has moved against age discrimination in employment; to upgrade care facilities for the elderly; protect the Medicare trust; improve community services, transportation, and nutrition.

Late in 1969 and again this spring, President Nixon called on the Congress to enact a comprehensive "Buyer's Bill of Rights" for stronger consumer protection. He created an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Office of the President.

These Nixon proposals still await action on the Hill: a product safety program, a Consumer Fraud Prevention Act, a Fair Warranty Disclosure Act, a Consumer Product Test Methods Act, and legislation to broaden the powers of the Federal Trade Commission.

# President Redeems Promise, Takes Government to People

MIAMI HERALD  
March 13, 1971



# Mr. Nixon's Goals: Full Steam Ahead!

NEW YORK NEWS Jan. 24, 1971

## Space

The President has shaped a long-range plan for the space program after Apollo—to set a sustainable pace while meeting urgent needs here on earth.

## The Arts

The President supported a three-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and has pressed for increased funding of its two Endowments to \$30 million each in the current fiscal year, or three times the level of two years ago.

## History and the Future

The President has appointed and is working closely with the Commission for the American Revolution Bicentennial. On July 3 he joined the Chief Justice and the Speaker of the House in a special ceremony at the National Archives to proclaim the start of the Bicentennial Era.

## Vitality, Courage and Strength

Working with Democrat-controlled Congresses—the first President to face a Congress controlled by the opposition in both Houses in 120 years—Mr. Nixon made up in Executive effort what the Administration lacked in partisan support. By the end of his 30th month in office 116 out of 212 of his legislative proposals had been enacted into law.

Facing a national press not noted for its overall amiability toward him, the President has been lauded by his severest critics among them for his bold global leadership and personal political courage.

Earning the designation of "History's Travellingest Chief Executive," he has kept his pledge to bring the Federal government to the American people with repeated meetings, Executive conferences and extensive visits in all parts of the United States.

Taking office as one of the most widely world-travelled and world-knowledgeable Presidents, he has already visited 17 foreign countries while in office with his momentous 'Journey for Peace' to mainland China in the immediate offing. The first United States President to visit a Communist capital, he went to Bucharest in 1969 and Belgrade in 1970.

The war and underlying international tensions are being met and mastered, as are poverty, injustice, and pollution, and the

attitudes that help produce them.

The nightmares are ending.

In July of this year, in Kansas City, the President spoke of the fallen greatness of ancient Greece and Rome. He called the roll of the enemies that brought them down—negativism, defeatism, alienation,

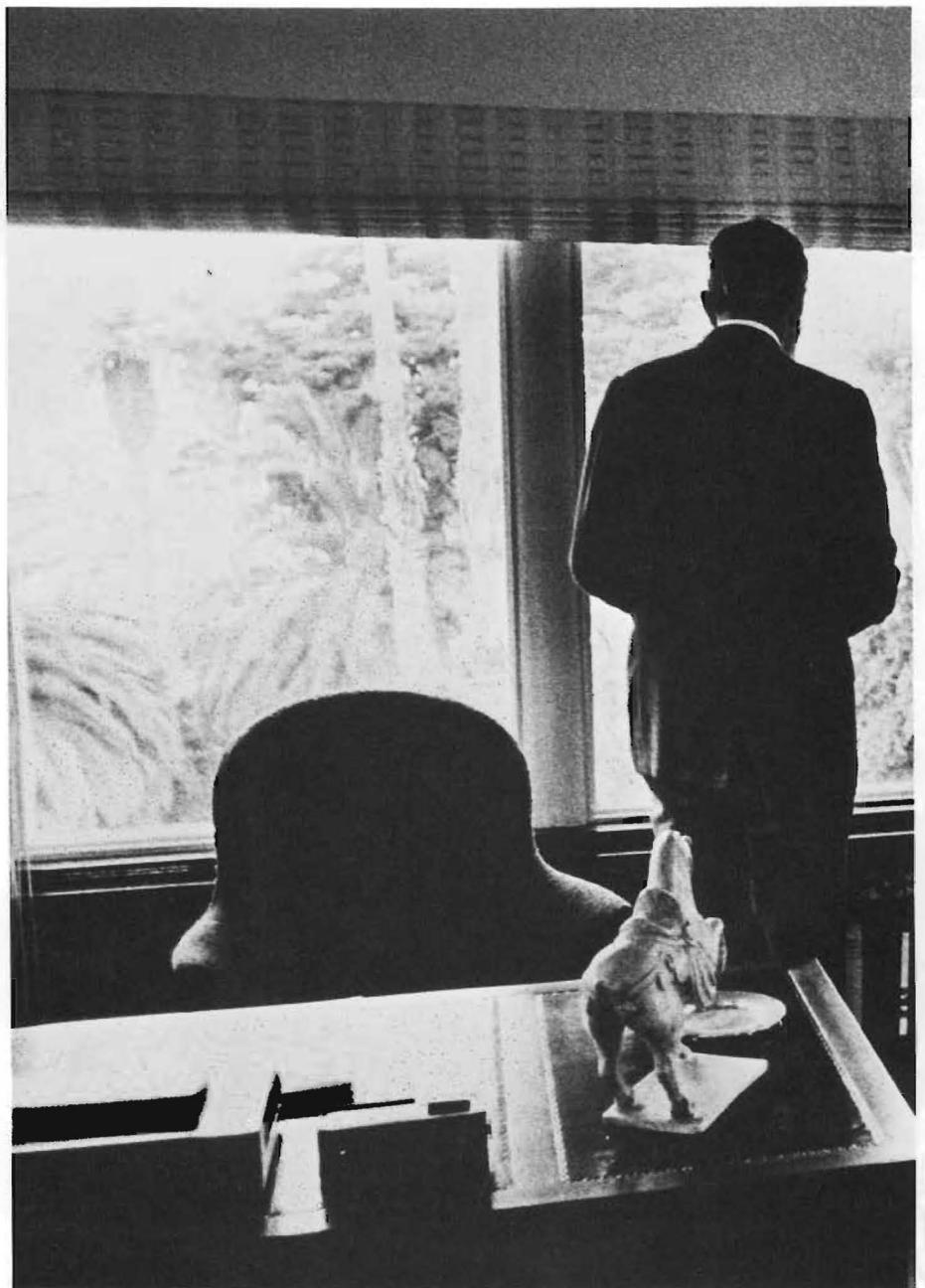
decadence, the complacency of wealth.

Said the President: "The United States is now reaching that period of testing in the life of great civilizations.

"I am convinced that we have the vitality, the courage, the moral and spiritual strength to survive and prevail."

## President Shows Admirable Willingness to Adapt to Needs

NEW YORK TIMES  
April 6, 1971



## Nixon Moves in Right Direction

IDAHO STATESMAN June 22, 1971



President and Mrs. Nixon with Pope Paul VI.

*We have started a new  
direction. We are on course.  
A world of opportunity in  
a world without war.*

Richard Nixon, State of the Union, Foreign Affairs Message, 1971.

The President with Secretary of State William Rogers at the Western White House.



*Let's be for our team. Let's be for our country. When we hear people say America is ugly, let's stand up and answer. This is a beautiful country—and the glory of America is that we have the greatest opportunity to make it even more beautiful in the years to come.*      *Richard Nixon*



**McNAMARA PAPERS BRING APOLOGIES TO GOLDWATER; IN THEIR HEART THEY KNOW HE WAS RIGHT**

*"Truth is generally the best vindication against slander."*—President Abraham Lincoln.

Ever since the publication of the McNamara Papers, which showed the Johnson-Humphrey Administration as being something less than candid with the American people about the war in Vietnam, there has been a steady stream of correspondence into the office of Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater. The theme of the letters is pretty much the same: You were right in 1964, we were wrong and we're sorry we voted for Lyndon Johnson for President.

The most well known correspondent, former JFK Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith, offered a "semi-apology" to the GOP's 1964 Presidential standard-bearer:

**Galbraith Semi-Apology**

"...it seems to me that all of us who campaigned against you in 1964 owe you at least a semi-apology. I feel as opposed as ever to the war and to carrying it to the North. But it seems to me that those of us who held that position should now be less in conflict with those who made their position clear—as you did—than with those who did not."

Samples from Sen. Goldwater's correspondence include the following:

"As a Democrat, I am ashamed of the treatment my party gave you in the 1964 election. Clearly, it was unwarranted and vicious; clearly the wrong man was elected...I cannot speak for the Democratic Party (who can?) but I do extend my apology to you for their past calumny."—A man from Detroit, Mich.

"This is a brief note from a fool who apologizes for having voted for Johnson instead of you."—A man from Oxnard, Calif.

"You were right, Senator, we were wrong, at least in the realization of what it would take to win the war, if military victory was possible....Forgive the American people for their occasional foolishness. They live in a world of images instead of substance and often the two are confused."—A man from Smithtown, N.Y.



MONDAY photo

**SENATOR GOLDWATER** looks over some of the apologetic correspondence he has received since publication of the McNamara Papers.

**Goldwater Truthful, Honest**

"I was a loyal Johnson man and swallowed the line we were handed, when in reality you simply squared with the American people and spoke your mind truthfully and honestly....If possible I would appreciate a picture of yourself so that I may never forget my misconduct."—A man from Toronto, Ohio.

"I wish to write you for many reasons but the most important to me right now is that I am eating my words and I owe you an apology...I am a strong, registered Democrat, which was the reason I was against you. However the years have taught me a lesson—to be honest first and Democrat second."—A woman from Hinsdale, Mass.

"I beg your forgiveness. Senator, I beg you do me a favor. I would like to have a hand-written statement saying 'I forgive you, Joe.' It is my intention to frame this and place it in my home and forever tell my children of how to judge a man."—A man from Miami, Fla.

"I want to express my apology for not supporting you back in 1964. You were telling the truth about what would be involved in the fighting in Vietnam.... History has vindicated you."—A man from Arlington, Va.

Sen. Goldwater, however, does not look upon what has happened as vindication and takes very little satisfaction in being able to say I told you so. Goldwater told MONDAY:

**Throw Out Radical-Liberals**

"I don't know, it's a pleasant feeling, but I don't feel overly happy about it because as I've told people,

*(Continued next page)*

**Would  
President  
Abraham  
Muskie  
Have Issued  
the  
Emancipation  
Proclamation?**

*(With the frequent comparisons in the press of Sen. Edmund Muskie with Abraham Lincoln, and with Muskie's recent ruling out of any black vice presidential running mate in 1972, the question arises: Would President Abraham Muskie have issued the Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1863? Who knows, but it could have gone something like this:)*

WASHINGTON — President Abraham Muskie said today that he does not believe "at this point in history" he could be re-elected President if he were to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, even though there are many blacks who are eminently qualified to be free.

President Muskie said the answer he gave to a private meeting of black abolitionists was "frank, honest and candid."

Muskie said he told the black leaders that "what we are trying to do is to begin the process of making this a country in which blacks have equality for this kind of thing as well as others."

President Muskie agreed, in replying to a question from a reporter, that there is an element of political risk in discussing such sensitive and controversial issues. "However, I have never been one to run from a fight," the President declared. "I have also never looked upon consistency as an inflexible rule. As to whether or not I'm wishy-washy and have a hot temper I would only say maybe I am, maybe I'm not to the first question; and a definite no to the second which, if you ask again, I'll punch you in the mouth."

When questioned later by newsmen in another city, President Muskie said he didn't think he should say anything more on the subject until he gave it "more thought than I have at this point." Muskie added that he did feel that by raising the issue he may have enhanced the chances that slavery would be abolished at some future date.



**GOLDWATER**

*(Continued from previous page)*

it's not a case of vindication. The trouble the country is in now is because we got the wrong people in 1964 in both the office of the Presidency and the Congress. And we still have them in the Congress even though we now have the right President. I think the job of the Republican Party is to get rid of the people in Congress who are continuing to cause trouble with inflation and who cause us trouble with our friends and allies around the world. The electorate should throw the radical-liberals out of Congress."

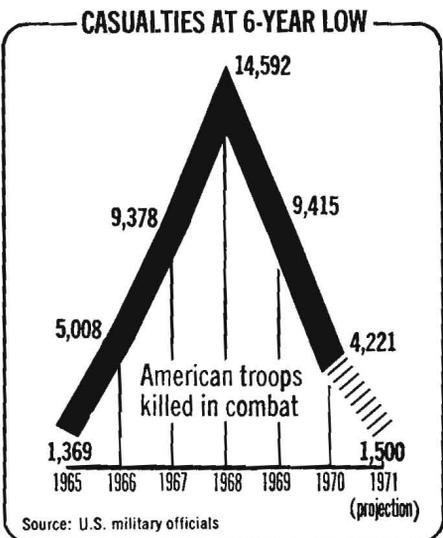
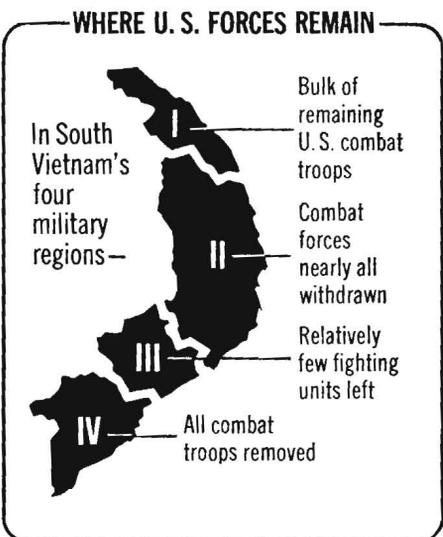
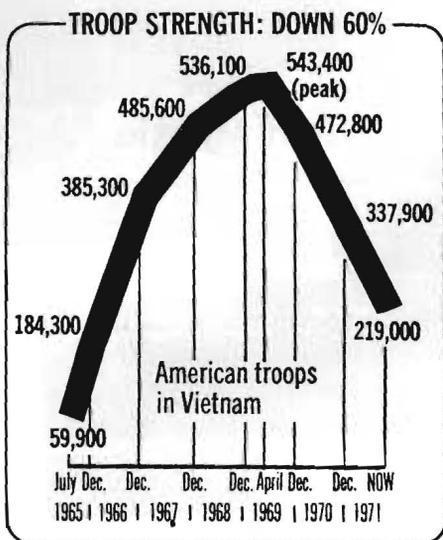
To those writing the Senator and apologizing for having opposed him in 1964, the Senator writes back:

"There is no reason for you to feel badly for having voted for Lyndon Johnson in 1964.

"The freedom of choice is one of our most precious possessions and I know there have been times when I was wrong and all that was needed to cleanse my soul was to admit it.

"For example, the longer Harry Truman lives the better President he seems to have been and he and I disagreed violently on almost everything."

**THE WAR IN VIETNAM CONTINUES TO WIND DOWN**



Source: U.S. military officials

**POLITICAL POTPOURRI:**

Vice President Agnew has praised N.Y. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's "courageous action" in dealing with the rebellion at Attica prison and criticized media reportage of the event as "inverted coverage." The most inflammatory and baseless charges by radical militants and their counsel were given wide and relatively uncritical exposure, Agnew declared in an address last week to the annual conference of the International Chiefs of Police, while a viewer or reader had to search in vain for any critical reflection on the criminal records of the agitators and the bearing it might have on their relative credibility. "If, then, there is a larger lesson to be drawn from the loss of life at Attica," the Vice President emphasized, "it is that Americans who value our system and its free institutions cannot underestimate the potential for violence and destruction inherent in any radical militant movement."

The recent defeat (39-12) of Sen. Hubert Humphrey's amendment to postpone the development and deployment of U.S. multiple warheads for strategic missiles is "his most embarrassing setback since returning to Capitol Hill," says the NEW YORK TIMES. According to the paper, HHH had not expected to win but he had not expected to lose by so large a margin either. Speaking against the Humphrey proposal, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, the ranking GOP member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, called it "nothing less than unilateral action on the part of the U.S. that would have serious effects on our strategic deterrent posture by reducing our nuclear payload capability." Noticably absent from the Humphrey supporters at vote time were Sens. Kennedy, McGovern, Bayh and Harris, all of whom were not even in the Senate chamber.

Who says young people aren't perceptive? The NEW YORK TIMES quotes a Long Beach State student as saying after a McGovern talk: "There was nothing really, really committed. It was the regular Democratic approach, I guess."...Syndicated columnist Marianne Means writes that Muskie made his no-black-on-the-ticket-in-'72 remarks "not long after he saw the results of local polls in California and Florida, two states where primary victories are considered crucial to the Presidential nomination." Both polls, says Means, indicate Muskie may have more trouble in these states from the right than from the left...Peter Schrag, writing in the ATLANTIC magazine, says the McGovern strategy is to keep the pressure on Muskie—to find platforms for debate and confrontation—and to hope "Muskie will crack."

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Today's inflation resulted from a series of errors in monetary policy beginning in 1965, according to a special analysis published by the American Enterprise Institute. Written by Phillip Cagan, professor of economics at Columbia University, the analysis declares: "In hindsight, the major mistake of policy was to disregard the first stage of inflation and to drive the economy full speed toward full employment in 1965 (during the Johnson-Humphrey Administration—Ed.) with a foot on the accelerator rather than the brake."...The Environmental Protection Agency has established an Office of Noise Abatement and Control to investigate the causes and sources of noise and determine their effects on the public health and welfare...When a reporter told Chicago Mayor Richard Daley that Sen. Humphrey was opposed to bringing the '72 Democratic convention to the Windy City because what happened there in '68 was like Pearl Harbor, Daley grinned and replied: "Well, what happened to him in the election was like Pearl Harbor."

**POLLWATCH:** 84 percent of those answering N.Y. Rep. John Wydler's constituent poll say they favor President Nixon's revenue sharing program; 64 percent favor the President's plan to reorganize the Executive branch of government by reducing the 11 Cabinet posts to eight...84 percent of non-students answering Tenn. Rep. John Duncan's constituent poll back the President's Vietnam policies; 74 percent of students answering support the policy; 73 percent of non-students favor revenue sharing as proposed by the President; 73 percent of students are for it; 92 percent of non-students are against legalization of marijuana; 78 percent of students against it.

At a recent National Governors Conference in Puerto Rico, Republican governors, with quiet backing from some of their Democratic colleagues, blocked consideration of a resolution drafted by Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland. The resolution was a bald-faced, parti-

### HELP!

FIRST MONDAY can always use help and would appreciate yours. If you see an item in the newspaper, see something on television or hear something on the radio that you think might be of interest to us, let us know about it here at the Republican National Committee 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.



### Sen. Muskie Meet Sen. Muskie

"I think Americans really don't care where a man comes from or what his origins may be, what his antecedents may be, so long as he represents values which they understand, which they can unite under."—*Sen. Edmund Muskie quoted in the San Diego (Calif.) EVENING NEWS, Sept. 10, 1971.*

"Sen. Edmund Muskie said today there are blacks who are eminently qualified to be vice president but that he doesn't believe 'at this point in history' he could be elected President with a Negro running mate."—*Associated Press news dispatch, Sept. 8, 1971.*

san political attack on President Nixon and GOP chief executives labeled it as such charging it was unfit for consideration at a bipartisan conference... National Federation of Republican Women President Gladys O'Donnell has announced that the 16th Biennial meeting of the NFRW will be held in Washington, Oct. 21 - 23. Plans include a White House visit, workshops on political techniques and issues, a panel discussion on press relations and one on women's rights and responsibilities. The meeting will be addressed by RNC Chmn. Bob Dole and Co-Chmn. Anne Armstrong.

### NEW ASSIGNMENTS:

President Nixon has named Illinois Gov. Richard Ogilvie to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for a two year term. Ogilvie replaces former Pennsylvania Gov. Raymond Shafer... Special Assistants to the President for Congressional Relations, Richard Cook and Eugene Cowen, have been promoted to Deputy Assistants to the President for Congressional Relations... The Alabama Republican Party has hired Larry Zimmer, 21, a graduate of Samford College in Birmingham, as full-time State Youth Director for the GOP.

# **The Nixon Record**

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**The  
First  
Thirty  
Months  
of  
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**The  
Nixon  
Record**



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# Introduction

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Taking leave of the Cabinet at Christmastime, 1970, after nearly two years in the President's service, Counsellor Daniel P. Moynihan offered some provocative observations on the Nixon Administration's performance and prospects at mid-term. "A large vision of America has been put forth," he reminded his colleagues, and "a record of...much genuine achievement" compiled. But looking to the second half of Richard Nixon's first term in the White House, Dr. Moynihan expressed concern that the approach of another political season might already have altered the national climate and ended the "little time... allowed the President [to] speak for all the Nation and address himself to realities in terms of the possible."

That concern was not a new one. The task of sustaining what Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist* called "energy in the executive," despite the friction of events and the distractions of politics, has challenged American statesmen from the beginning. A year before George Washington took office as the first President, Hamilton foresaw that the four-year Presidential term might affect "the spirit and character of the government" in either of two ways. It could well happen, he conceded, that as a President "approached...a new election... his firmness would decline." More to be hoped for, though, was a Chief Executive who would devote his stewardship to achieving with "fortitude...the measures he might incline to pursue."

The record of 1971 clearly answers the hopes of *The Federalist*, not his misgivings. President Nixon moved into his third year in office deploying "energy in the executive" more creatively and tellingly than ever. Now, as his administration passes its 30-month mark, the achievements built in the first half of 1971 on the foundations laid in 1969 and 1970 have established these last six months as the President's most productive period to date.

Early this January, during a televised conversation with four network commentators, the President told Americans, "We must plow forward...I have great hopes for the next two years."

The shape of those hopes was outlined in two historic policy statements which the President delivered during the next several weeks.

In his far-reaching State of the Union address before a joint session of the new 92nd Congress on January 22, he proposed six great domestic goals for the Nation. The American people, he said, "are eager to get on with the quest for new greatness." This quest would mean, the President said, reforming the welfare system to help the needy help themselves, and lifting the economy to full prosperity in peacetime. It would mean continuing the crusade for environmental quality, and launching a new crusade for better health care. And it would mean revitalizing State and local government through revenue sharing, and modernizing the Federal Government through executive reorganization. The President predicted that progress on these six fronts could open the way to "a new American revolution—a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people."

The State of the Union's foreign affairs was the subject of a separate Presidential report, sent to the Congress the following month. Entitled "United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's: Building for Peace," this report carried forward an effort begun in 1970 to give American policy an unprecedented degree of conscious unity and public articulation through issuance of a comprehensive annual review. Summing up his introduction to the 1971 report, the President wrote, "We have set a new direction,"—a reference to the Nixon Doctrine on America's role in the world as shaped during 1969; and he said of 1970's accomplishments, "We are on course." And to what destination? "A world of opportunity in a world without war."

Two ambitious outlines for the future. But by the time the President returned to Washington at midsummer from a short working visit at the Western White House, there was mounting evidence to support them both. The economy is continuing to expand, inflation is continuing to diminish, welfare reform is looking like a winner, and the

other four "great goals" are making quiet headway in the opposition Congress. In Vietnam the battlefronts are unusually quiet, a vigorous election campaign is underway, and there is some movement at the peace table. Most dramatically, news of the forthcoming "journey for peace" to Peking is still reverberating in surprised world capitals and in millions of newly hopeful hearts. It is a good time for long looks ahead, looks taken in the perspective of an informed glance back. Herewith, to sharpen such perspective, a review of President Nixon's first two and a half years.

# Building for Peace

"The times are on the side of peace," the President prophesied in his Inaugural address. During his first 30 months in office, the United States has made remarkable progress toward fulfilling that prophecy. On the battlefield—through diplomacy—in the world community—and through a strong defense, the work of building for peace has gone forward, as the next four sections illustrate.

## ON THE BATTLEFIELD

When Richard Nixon came to the Presidency two and a half years ago, he inherited a massive and costly United States involvement in the long Vietnam War, with no end or exit yet in sight. 549,500 American troops were committed in South Vietnam. No withdrawal plan existed to bring them home. The U.S. death toll already exceeded 31,000 men and was growing by almost 300 names weekly.

But the new President had a plan to turn these trends around. It began even before his inauguration, with a full review of the Indochina situation and the policy alternatives open to us. By May 1969 it had led to spelling out of a generous American peace plan for discussion at the stalled Paris talks. By June 1969 the intensified efforts ordered by the President to train and equip South Vietnamese forces for an increasing share of the combat burden had progressed far enough to permit withdrawal of the first 25,000 American troops.

Since then American policy has moved forward on those two tracks—negotiation and Vietnamization. Time and again the President has reiterated his preference for a swift end to the conflict in Southeast Asia through a negotiated settlement. On October 7, 1970 he put forward a comprehensive proposal for an immediate cease-fire-in-place throughout Indochina, coupled with an Indochina peace conference, a political settlement, mutual troop withdrawals and immediate release of all POWs. The plan, he pointed out, had the approval of every nation in the war save one—North Vietnam. It remains on the table today.

But the continued deadlock in Paris did not impair South Vietnam's growing capability to manage its own defense, and American disengagement has been able to proceed apace. The 100,000 troops which the President has ordered brought home from South Vietnam between May 1 and December 1 this year will leave our authorized force there at just 184,000 men—barely a third of its strength 30 months ago. By Defense Department estimates, the cost of the war has also been cut by about two-thirds. Combat deaths in June averaged 25 per week—less than 10 percent of the weekly toll three years ago.

Twice in the time since American withdrawal began, Allied forces have made bold defensive thrusts which have speeded the progress of winding down the war. In May and June 1970 a joint ARVN and United States operation struck across the Cambodian border and cleaned out sanctuaries long occupied with impunity by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong. This operation advanced the Vietnamization and withdrawal processes, cut American casualty rates almost in half, and sharply reduced the level of enemy activity in South Vietnam. Then in February 1971 another limited mission was launched, this one into the Laotian panhandle area where extraordinary supply buildups on the Ho Chi Minh Trail indicated a major North Vietnamese offensive in the making. ARVN forces this time required only U.S. air support. The bloody fighting in Laos cost the enemy heavily in men and supplies, and so succeeded in buying precious time for the final phases of South Vietnam's assumption of its own defense.

To withdraw from Vietnam in a way that lays the foundation for a lasting peace in the Pacific and the world—to leave the South Vietnamese with a reasonable chance of preventing a Communist takeover—and to keep faith with the many Americans who have given their lives and with those still held as prisoners of war—these remain the President's goals as the Vietnam war draws to a close. By the record, he has earned the people's trust in pursuing them.

## THROUGH DIPLOMACY

Even as it has acted decisively to end the war it inherited, the Nixon Administration has also retained a balanced and realistic global vision, a steady sense of long-term purpose. No phrase found its way into the President's speeches during the past two and a half years with greater frequency or feeling than "a full generation of peace," and under his leadership American diplomacy has moved to give real substance to that dream.

With a new order of international relations emerging to replace the rigid bipolarity of the post-World War II era, the President has developed a fundamentally different approach to U.S. foreign policy. Two principles characterize this new approach:

- That partnership, not paternalism, must govern our relationship with allies and friends around the world, so that decisions are taken jointly and burdens shared fairly—a philosophy which has become known as the Nixon Doctrine.
- That negotiation, not confrontation, must become our major tool in dealing with adversaries and resolving international differences.

The Nixon Doctrine was first enunciated by the President at Guam in the summer of 1969, and its initial focus was Asia and the Pacific. The dramatically increased self-sufficiency of the Republic of Vietnam is perhaps the Doctrine's most obvious success in that region, but there have been many other healthy effects there as well. The United States has extended economic and military assistance to the Republic of Cambodia in its defense against Communist aggression, but has not committed American ground combat forces. The American military presence has been reduced by a total of 62,000 men in Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, Japan and Okinawa. A treaty which will return control of Okinawa to Japan next year was signed in an unprecedented Washington-Tokyo satellite television ceremony on June 17.

In the spring of 1971 the new flexibility of American diplomacy in Asia began paying what may become its richest dividend of all, as steps toward a more normal relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China were taken after 22 years of mutual hostility and isolation. Soon after taking office the President had begun indicating our readiness to reopen contacts with China and had initiated a careful series of measures to open travel and trade with that country. This April the U.S. table tennis team was invited by Peking to visit the mainland. Within days the President announced a number of actions further relaxing trade and travel restrictions for the People's Republic. In June he authorized export to China of a broad range of nonstrategic U.S. goods, as well as imports to this country from the mainland.

Then on July 15, after many weeks of preparations had culminated in secret talks between Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, it was announced simultaneously in Washington and Peking that President Nixon will visit China some time before next May. In his dramatic broadcast to the Nation, the President said he hopes the trip will become "a journey for peace." He stated that "its purpose is to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries," and he emphasized his "profound conviction that all nations will gain" from such a step.

Hopes for peace have received other encouragement during these fruitful first months of 1971. Over a very short time the cumulative achievements of years of patient diplomacy suddenly came into sharp focus around the world. Besides the progress with China, there were these developments:

On May 20 the President announced a significant breakthrough in the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—SALT. Begun by the Nixon Administra-

tion in 1969, the talks had reached a deadlock after much promising early work had been accomplished. But now the President said that beginning with the current, fifth round of talks at Helsinki, negotiators will concentrate intensively on reaching an agreement this year to limit ABM deployment, together with measures to limit offensive weapons. Complex negotiations still lie ahead, but thanks in part to the President's personal initiative, prospects for an initial agreement look good.

At the same time the European security picture was brightening. NATO, committed since its December 1970 ministers meeting to a strengthened defense posture with increased European contributions, and reassured by the President's firmness in rallying leading American statesmen of the last five administrations to insure Senate rejection of unilateral American troop cuts in Europe, heard indications of new Soviet interest in its longstanding proposal for mutual, balanced force reductions in the Western and Eastern bloc alliances. When the NATO Council met at Lisbon in June, Secretary Rogers took the lead in the decision to begin cautious bilateral exploration of the subject with Warsaw Pact nations. New evidence of progress in the long-running Four Power talks on the status of Berlin also appeared.

In the Middle East the Nixon Administration has worked steadily over the past 30 months to break the potentially explosive stalemate between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and to avert the danger of confrontation between the superpowers. The cease-fire, which the United States helped to arrange along the Suez Canal last summer, will soon be a year old. With the fighting stopped, America has continued to work with both sides and other influential outside powers in an effort to help produce a peace settlement in which Arabs and Israelis alike can have a vested interest. At the same time, the President is committed to maintaining the balance of military power in the area. The dangerous Jordanian crisis of September 1970 was alleviated in large measure through the President's application of firmness and restraint.

President Nixon has also pursued the new approach to partnership with the Latin American nations, and a new frankness on both sides has characterized the dialogue between North and South in the Hemisphere. Relations with Mexico were strengthened when a definitive boundary treaty, now before the Senate, was concluded during the President's second visit to Mexico. Tensions with Peru were submerged by America's humanitarian relief effort following Peru's disastrous 1970 earthquake, and in a personal gesture of concern the First Lady visited the stricken region. Similarly, during this year we responded with relief efforts to unprecedented blizzards and floods in Chile, and subsequently to a sharp earthquake there. Otherwise, the U.S. reaction to the accession of a Socialist Government in Chile was measured and restrained, making clear that our attitude toward Chile would be determined by its attitude toward us. On the economic side, President Nixon reaffirmed our support for Latin American economic and social development, committed himself to seek a reduction in the obstacles to trade and investment within the Western Hemisphere, and sought continued U.S. support to international lending agencies operating in the Hemisphere.

Renewed attention was also given to the African nations; Secretary Rogers made the first official tour of Africa by an American Secretary of State, and the Vice President's around-the-world tour this summer took him to the Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Morocco.

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## IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY

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The reform spirit of administration domestic policy, combined with the partnership emphasis of the Nixon Doctrine, has motivated a sustained effort to reorient the entire U.S. foreign assistance program. Early in his term, the President commissioned a special task force to study American aid. Last September its recommendations became the basis of a reform message to the Congress, and in April the President was able to report substantial progress toward the goals that message outlined and to submit legislation containing major reforms in the U.S. foreign assistance program.

His proposals are: to separate the basic types of assistance—security, development, and humanitarian—and to create a distinct organizational structure for each; to channel aid more through multilateral institutions; and to replace AID with a U.S. International Development Corporation and a U.S. International Development Institute. As these reforms are achieved, our foreign aid dollars should go farther and enable us to be more effective in cooperating with other nations in an effort to promote greater prosperity and stability in the world community. There will be greater emphasis on multilateral forums, efforts by other developed countries, and planning by recipient countries themselves.

Against a backdrop of gradual progress in the SALT talks, the United States pursued other important arms control efforts, both multilateral and unilateral. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was ratified and came into force in March 1970. Last February, with Britain, the USSR, and 59 other nations, a treaty banning nuclear weapons from the seabeds of the world was signed. The President announced United States renunciation of all biological warfare weapons, and extended this Nation's ban on the first use of lethal chemical weapons to include incapacitating chemical weapons as well. He also renewed efforts to obtain Senate approval of the 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of poison gases and bacteriological weapons in war. Sub-

stantial progress has been made in Geneva toward an international treaty banning biological weapons. A sword-into-plowshares sidelight of the decision to forswear biological warfare was the establishment of a new National Center for Toxicological Research at the Army's former biological facility in Pine Bluff, Arkansas; the center will conduct health, safety, and environmental studies.

The human, social, and environmental indivisibility of the world community informed administration activity on a number of fronts. The President advanced comprehensive proposals for international cooperation in exploiting the resources of the seabeds, and the U.S. joined in developing conventions to prevent oil pollution of the oceans. To further the rule of law among nations, he submitted the Genocide Treaty and the Hague Convention on Hijacking to the Senate for approval, and helped to secure agreement within the OAS on a convention to prevent terrorism and kidnapping. The United States hosted and led the long conference which this May completed work on a permanent INTELSAT agreement, expected to speed the development of instantaneous global communications. In May we were also host—at Indianapolis—to the pioneering NATO Conference on Cities, an activity of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society which was formed to involve the alliance in development as well as defense at the Nixon administration's suggestion in 1969.

The United Nations, which completed its first quarter-century last fall, has continued to receive strong support and constructive participation from the United States under the Nixon administration. The President addressed the General Assembly in September 1969, and again a year later during its 25th Anniversary Session. His commission on the observance of that anniversary, headed by former UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, recommended numerous moves to strengthen the world organization and American participation in it.

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## TOWARD STRENGTH

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Building for peace means not only preparing to win a peace in Vietnam and to keep it around the world, but also moving to make the most of the opportunities which freedom from war will offer the Nation. It calls for a defense policy which will release our energies and resources to meet domestic needs while it keeps America ready and strong. The touchstone of such a policy was summed up in the President's words to several hundred new ensigns (including his son-in-law, David Eisenhower) who had just been commissioned at the Naval Officer Candidate School in Newport last March: "We do not seek power as an end in itself. We seek power adequate to our purpose, and our purpose is peace."

Proof of the policy's success is spelled out in recent budget tables. The President's budget for Fiscal Year 1971 was the first in two decades in which military spending was less than spending for human resources. As recently as Fiscal 1968, defense had absorbed 45 cents of every Federal dollar, while only 32 cents was devoted to human resources; but by last year defense had been trimmed to 37 cents against 41 cents for human needs; and in the new Fiscal Year, 1972, it moves down to 34 cents against 42 cents.

"Reordering priorities" is the catch phrase for this dramatic reversal—but that doesn't mean that national survival and security have been relegated to second place. Rather, savings have been realized in a number of ways entirely compatible with maintenance of "power adequate to our purpose." Three hundred and thirty-one base closures and over 800 other activity reductions have been announced by the Defense Department since January 1969 (a rate of more than one a day) and will save the taxpayer over \$2.5 billion annually. Weapons development and procurement practices

have been brought under tighter guidelines which will help stretch the arms dollar.

In Fiscal 1972, the number of active military personnel will reach a level more than one million below that of mid-1968, and civilian defense personnel will be down by a total of 205,000 from that time. Uniformed strength can be pared this much—lower than at any time since 1963—because the Vietnam war is ending and because the Nixon Doctrine is helping our friends and allies provide more self-reliantly for their own security.

At the same time the President has cut no corners on preparedness. Paralleling his SALT efforts to limit antiballistic missile systems, he announced plans to proceed as far as necessary in the deployment of a new "Safeguard" ABM system: this course of action has twice been sustained in close Senate tests. Deployment of the new Poseidon missile at sea, and of the multiple-warhead Minuteman III on land, is also going forward to bolster America's strategic defenses. Mobility and effectiveness of units of all the armed forces are being upgraded to offset reduced manpower levels, and improved hardware is being introduced. Research and development funds, the best budget indicator of a determination to keep our defenses modern over the long term, are up in Fiscal Year 1972.

The military draft, an erratic and inequitable influence in the lives of millions of young Americans for many years, has been the object of a vigorous two-part reform campaign since Richard Nixon became Commander-in-Chief 30 months ago. During his first weeks in office the President appointed an advisory commission under former Defense Secretary Thomas Gates to map out the route

to his ultimate goal of an all-volunteer armed force for the post-Vietnam era. Then, remarking that even a house soon to be vacated must be made livable in the meantime, he went to work to make the draft less onerous while it lasts.

Late in 1969 a lottery system was instituted, reducing the period of prime draft vulnerability from seven years to one year and calling the youngest first. Fairness was increased when occupational and paternity deferments were ended in 1970 and would be further enhanced under the 1971 extension of the Selective Service Act, which would phase out student deferments and introduce a national system of call to end varying treatments of a given lottery number in different localities. Appeals that so long as conscription of young civilians must go on it should be directed by a young civilian met response when the President named a respected former university president as Selective Service Director. Youth Advisory Committees have been set up throughout the System, the average age of State Directors has come down from the mid-sixties to the mid-forties, and minority representation on local boards has doubled.

When the Gates Commission report on a volunteer force came in last year, the President accepted its basic conclusions and began moving toward a zero draft. In a Special Message to the Congress early this year, he placed the target date for that change-over just two years away, on July 1, 1973. He is seeking sharp increases in pay and benefits, and improvement in conditions of service life, to enhance incentives for military careers. Gains already made in those incentives, coupled with force reductions, will permit draft calls for the rest of this year to be no more than 10,000 per month, compared with average monthly calls of 25,000 during the year before President Nixon took office.

# The New American Revolution

In 1776, with hostilities already underway in the first American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence explained that "the patient sufferance of these Colonies" had been exhausted by "a long train of abuses and usurpations." Nearly two centuries later, the language of state is more blunt: "Let's face it," President Nixon said in his 1971 State of the Union message. "Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels." Yet the modern citizen's complaints are remarkably similar to the grievances Jefferson listed against the King of England—a centralized power which has "erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent...swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance;" which has altered "fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:" which has weakened our legislatures and imposed burdensome taxation.

Fundamental government reform on a revolutionary scale is clearly needed to bring performance up, get costs down, and give real governing power back to the people. Given the severity of the problem, the President's call for a New American Revolution was in no sense exaggerated—and the sweep of the proposals involved lives up to their ambitious title. The sections that follow survey the six great goals proposed last January—what they entail, what success they have met, and what the administration has done in related fields.

## RETURNING POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The steady flow of power and resources from the States and communities to Washington over the course of four decades. The stifling of democracy under layer after layer of bureaucracy. The financial crisis of the cities and the imminent rebellion of their taxpayers against heavy property and sales levies. The mounting sense of citizens everywhere that government was neither serving their needs nor responding to their direction. These were the President's targets when he proposed revenue sharing—"a \$16 billion investment in renewing State and local government"—to the Congress last January.

The Federal Government has not ignored State and local needs in the past, as the proliferation of categorical grant programs from 45 to more than 500 during the decade of the 1960's indicates. But this kind of tightly restricted aid, while it recognizes that Washington is better at raising revenues, forgets that local authority can often decide best how to spend them. Hence the President's campaign commitment to a program which would share Federal revenues without strings.

That commitment got legislative life in August 1969, when the President asked the Congress to share \$500 million with the States and their communities during Fiscal Year 1971. The size of the program, he said, should increase tenfold—to \$5 billion—by Fiscal 1976, so that "the political landscape of America will be visibly altered" by the end of the Seventies. But the 91st Congress ended without acting on the measure.

So this January the President renewed the proposal in dramatically broader form. The revenue sharing program now being pressed in the House of Representatives is in two parts. One is General Revenue Sharing, which would share 1.3 percent of each year's Federal personal income tax base with the States, on a formula basis providing for mandatory pass-through of about half the funds to localities, for spending as those governments see fit. The \$5 billion originally

projected for sharing in Fiscal 1976 would become this year's figure, with future shares growing as Federal revenues grow. The other half of the President's new proposal is Special Revenue Sharing, a package of six programs which would take some \$10 billion formerly parceled out through 130 categorical grant programs, augment it by more than \$1 billion in new money, and make it available for faster, more flexible State and local use under six broad headings—manpower, law enforcement, education, transportation, urban development, and rural development.

The drive to put the money where the needs are, and to put the power to spend it where the people are, has been carried nationwide during the last six months—by the Cabinet, by the Vice President, and by the President himself in a series of special briefings in various cities. The principles of federalism and the logic of sound management argue for it. The Nation's Governors, mayors, and county officials support it overwhelmingly. "Revenue sharing is an idea whose time is come," the President said recently—and chances look good for its passage in this session of the Congress.

## RENEWING GOVERNMENT FOR THE NEXT CENTURY

When the President proclaimed in 1969 that reform would be the watchword of his administration, he meant fundamental reform, keyed to the long perspective of history. What can we do to prepare the American system to function as well in the century ahead as it has over the two centuries now ending?—this has been the operative question of Nixon policies for the past 30 months. One thing the President seeks to do is to redress the imbalance of the federal system and the erosion of popular power through revenue sharing. Another is to close the gap between promise and performance at the Federal level through a top-to-bottom reorganization of the Executive Branch.

To get this process started, the President's Advisory Council on Executive

Organization (the Ash Council) was created and set to work on the first overall review of the executive branch in more than 20 years. It was this study which formed the basis of the President's 1971 proposal for major streamlining of the Cabinet departments. Of the eleven existing departments, only State, Defense, Justice and the Treasury would remain, under this plan. Jobs presently assigned to the others would be done by four new departments—Human Resources, Natural Resources, Community Development, and Economic Affairs—and done much better, since the present organization built around narrow constituencies and weighted with the bureaucratic accretion of decades would be replaced by unified authority in broad functional areas. Further, the office of Secretary within each department would be strengthened, his management team improved, his regional operations tightened.

Again, the revolutionary era offers strong precedent for this reform. In his message presenting it to the Congress, the President quoted Jefferson's statement, "Institutions must advance...and keep pace with the times." As an effort to make government more responsive to the people's needs, it is in the best tradition of the Founding Fathers' transition from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution.

The first phase of the President's Cabinet reorganization has in fact already been completed. On July 1 the postal reform bill enacted last year took effect, and the newly independent U.S. Postal Service moved out of politics and the Cabinet and into a new era of modern management and improved mail service. Structural reform within the remaining departments is underway as well—in 1969 the President took the long-postponed step of standardizing boundaries and headquarters cities for the ten field regions of the major domestic departments. Delegation of authority from Washington, interagency coordination, and two-way cooperation between States and communities and the Federal Government have all received a healthy impetus from this change.

Like ripples in a pool, the wave of executive branch reform started at the center—within the President's own Executive Office. Acting on an Ash Council recommendation, the President established a Cabinet-level Domestic Council to help infuse domestic policy formation with the kind of comprehensiveness, foresight, and system which the National Security Council has brought to Presidential conduct of foreign affairs. The new Council and the Office of Management and Budget which was created with it to supersede the old Budget Bureau as a new watchdog of policy execution have just completed their first year of operation. Less than six months old, but already bringing needed focus to the challenges America faces in world trade, is the Council on International Economic Policy, another Cabinet-level group.

Where national problems seemed to require direct Presidential leadership, the President created new offices subordinate to him to meet the need—these include an Office of Telecommunications Policy, an Office of Consumer Affairs, and (early this summer) a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.

Where an agency's effectiveness seemed blunted, the President has pared and sharpened—as with his 1969 reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which has become a "laboratory agency," developing new ideas for helping people and spinning off its successes into the operating arm of the Government. Under this policy the Job Corps was moved to the Labor Department and Head Start to HEW, and both are stronger for the change. VISTA this month became part of the new ACTION volunteer agency, and the President has asked Congress to vest responsibility for legal services to the poor in a new independent corporation. Thus OEO, their former parent agency, remains, as the President put it, "free to concentrate on breaking even newer ground."

Of the many Nixon reform initiatives, none has answered a more urgent

need or made a more vigorous start than the Environmental Protection Agency, which came into being late in 1970 after Congress endorsed the President's request for consolidation of Federal responsibilities in the fields of clean air, clean water, solid waste, pesticides, radiation, and noise pollution. Both the EPA and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration created within the Commerce Department at the same time began as Ash Council recommendations.

Another important legacy of that Council (which completed its work this May) is a far-reaching reform agenda for the seven major independent regulatory agencies, published early this year and eventually to be the source of more Presidential recommendations to the Congress.

Nor has the President's concern for vitality of American democracy in our coming third century been confined to the executive branch alone. In recent months he has also addressed the need for legislative and judicial reform—with scrupulous respect for the separation of powers but also with the firsthand insight of a former legislator and lawyer. As the new 92nd Congress was organizing, he made known his support for adoption of work schedules and procedures which might expedite the legislative process. Later, addressing the National Conference on the Judiciary at Williamsburg in March, he advanced a wide range of constructive proposals "for the overhaul of a system of justice that has simply been neglected too long."

## WORKFARE AND FREEDOM FROM WANT

At the top of the President's domestic agenda for nearly two years, approved by the House last month under the urgent title "H.R. 1," and now before the Senate, is welfare reform.

Runaway costs, soaring relief rolls, unevenness and inadequacy of benefits, and eligibility rules which discouraged work and promoted family separation—throughout the Sixties all these had underlined the need for a new approach to helping the dependent. It remained for the Nixon administration to act on that need. On August 8, 1969, the President went on national television to present what has since been called the most important piece of domestic legislation in 35 years—his "Family Assistance Plan."

Leading features of the reform plan—which appears headed for passage later this year, after passing the House but failing to reach a vote in the Senate in 1970—include:

- National eligibility standards and a \$2,400 Federal income floor for a family of four, replacing present State by State variations;
- improved work incentives, permitting the working poor to retain a larger portion of earnings without losing welfare benefits;
- strict work and training requirements, combined with services to facilitate employment, aimed at speeding the transition from welfare rolls to payrolls;
- provision for helping families headed by men, to end the practice of breaking homes in order to qualify for welfare;
- hold-harmless guarantees that will keep State welfare costs from rising above 1971 levels and encourage the States to supplement Federal income support payments.

"It is not charity," the President has said of the present welfare system, "to bind human beings into a cycle of despair and dependence." Real charity, he emphasized, is better served by the new system which he has proposed, and refined during many months of close co-

operation with two opposition Congresses—"a system that is fair to the poor, that is fair to the taxpayer, and that is true to the spirit of independence that has built America."

But steps to reach this standard of fairness have not waited on legislative action—they are already being taken through wide program innovation and administrative reform within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The rapidly expanding Work Incentive Program to provide manpower services to AFDC recipients, and the doubling of child care expenditures in Fiscal 1971, both anticipate the work emphasis of Family Assistance. Barriers to deserved assistance for the poor have been removed through HEW's efforts to bring States into compliance with the welfare laws, to insure due process for recipients, and to clarify eligibility rules.

The campaign for freedom from want has also gone forward on another front—ending hunger in America. Calling the persistence of hunger and malnutrition amid this Nation's abundance "intolerable," President Nixon mobilized his administration against them beginning in May 1969.

The Food Stamp program has been reformed—increasing allotment levels, establishing national eligibility standards, tying benefits to the cost of living—and dramatically broadened as well, so that 10.5 million people receive the stamps today, as against only 2.9 million 30 months ago. Adding to this the people reached by direct commodity distribution programs, food assistance recipients in the United States now total 14.2 million, compared to 6.6 million recipients in January 1969, and all but 9 of the 440 counties which then had no family food

programs have them now. More than 10,000 nutrition aides are now at work in low income communities across the country; 30 months ago none were in the field. School lunch programs have been expanded from 3 million to 7.4 million children over the last two school years.

Late in 1969 the President convened a White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health to support the hunger effort; a follow-up meeting on that conference was held early this year.

## FULL PROSPERITY IN PEACETIME

One of the most serious casualties of rapidly escalating American involvement in the Vietnam war over the 1965-68 period was stable, steady growth in the Nation's economy. Huge budget deficits at a time when the economy was at full employment triggered a rampant inflation which was still gathering momentum and penalizing more and more Americans when President Nixon took office at the beginning of 1969. The imperatives he faced were clear, if monumental: to check the inflation while keeping any economic downturn to a minimum, and to shift the economy from wartime overspeed to peacetime prosperity.

While stressing repeatedly that fighting inflation is everyone's business, the President also emphasized that the restraint must start with Washington. Taking command of a Fiscal 1969 budget already past its halfway point, he trimmed it into surplus. The discipline continued into Fiscal 1970, as the President vetoed runaway spending bills, challenged the Congress to save taxpayers \$2 million a day by cutting 57 obsolete Federal programs, and won his fight for a year's extension of the income surtax.

Congress also accepted most of the Nixon proposals for the first major tax reform in 15 years. The reform bill, which the President signed as 1969 ended, closed many tax loopholes, simplified the mechanics of payment, increased the personal exemption and standard deduction, imposed a minimum tax on very high incomes, and—

perhaps most significantly—eliminated taxes altogether for some nine million poor citizens. Certain other provisions incorporated in the bill against the President's recommendations had the effect of reducing Federal revenues prematurely, an effect that later had to be compensated by budget revisions and additional revenue requests.

With Government's own house in better order, the President also took steps to damp the wage-price spiral in the private sector. Last summer his Council of Economic Advisors began preparing "inflation alerts" to spotlight inflationary actions by unions and businesses, and a new National Commission on Productivity went to work to get real output into step with rising wages.

And it worked. Inflation peaked, and is now continuing downward. Running at an annual rate of 5.7% in the half-year that ended with May 1969 and then at 6.5% in the same period a year later, it was only 4.1% in the six months through May 1971. For all this a price was exacted however—a price felt most keenly in the unemployment rate, which climbed as the economy cooled. From a yearly average of 3.5% during 1969, joblessness rose to 4.9% in 1970.

That this figure was still below the unemployment rates for any peacetime year in the 1960's was, the President declared in his 1971 State of the Union address, "not good enough for the man who is unemployed in the Seventies," and so he went on in that speech to outline his plan for achieving full prosperity in peacetime, something the country has not enjoyed since 1957. The Fiscal 1972 budget which he proposed is a "full employment budget," designed to be in balance if the economy were operating at its peak potential. With this stimulus, he said, and with a compatible monetary policy on the part of the independent Federal Reserve, the economy should resume an orderly expansion.

Nearly all signs are pointing to just such a development. The Gross National Product registered a record gain in the first half of this year; housing starts are at their highest levels in twenty years;

the index of leading economic indicators has risen for seven consecutive months; and even unemployment—traditionally one of the last indicators to respond in a recovery—dipped sharply to a seasonally adjusted 5.6% in June after hovering near 6% since late last fall.

In the few areas where there is now some nervousness—notably interest rates and the stock market, after both responded favorably for most of the past year—the reason may well be what the Council of Economic Advisors recently described as "a deep cynicism about government policies...the legacy of many years of inflationary action." In brief, the CEA told the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, past experience has led to fear in some quarters that expansionary government action will produce more inflation, a fear which tends to retard recovery. But the Nixon record over the past six months clearly disproves any such danger. It proves, instead, that Americans do have what the President has called "the right to be confident" that his administration will steer a safe middle course between stagnation and inflation.

For during 1971 the President has not relaxed the vigilance against inflation even while pursuing economic expansion. When major steel companies announced an excessive price increase, the White House remonstrated with them, and the price raise was moderated. When wages and prices in the construction industry kept skyrocketing, the President first suspended Federal wage guarantees, then later restored them and substituted a labor-management-public watchdog committee to promote wage-price stabilization in the industry. When steel contract talks began, the President conferred with the parties to remind them of the danger that American steel might price itself out of the world market. When a \$2 billion accelerated public works bill aimed at creating more jobs came to his desk for signature, the President vetoed it,

pointing out that it would generate severe inflationary pressures later without really helping those who need work now.

And while "the right to be confident" of an orderly expansion has kept the President from giving either private business or Government fiscal policy its head, another point of confidence which he affirmed in the same economic policy speech before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce this April has made him resist the pressure for mandatory wage and price controls. This is his pledge that the road to the new prosperity will be "the road of free markets, free competition, free bargaining, and free men."

Through this challenging transitional period, the President has taken strong measures to help those who are out of work provide for their families and find new employment. Last August he signed into law his proposal to make the most significant set of improvements in the history of unemployment insurance; besides adding nearly five million workers to the insurance system, the new law expanded the size and the duration of benefits. He reorganized the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor, and asked the Congress to replace \$1.5 billion worth of Washington-run manpower training programs with \$2 billion in Special Revenue Sharing for Manpower. This change would permit States and cities to tailor their own training and job-service programs to needs in local labor markets and would move the money out faster. It would also trigger additional manpower funds when national unemployment exceeds 4.5%.

Other emergency employment measures which the administration has advocated are the provision for 200,000 public service employment jobs as part of welfare reform, and the creation of 150,000 such jobs under the new Emergency Employment Act of 1971. This employment

will be both transitional in nature and timely in effect, by contrast with that envisioned in the accelerated public works bill which the President vetoed earlier. Government-assisted summer job opportunities for disadvantaged youth have been steadily expanded by the administration and are at an all-time high this year—some 824,000, or nearly one-third more than last summer.

Impact of the changeover to a peacetime economy has been greatest in defense employment. Reductions in the armed forces, together with cutbacks in defense and aerospace production, have meant job changes for some 1.2 million people—half of all those displaced in the last 30 months; but the administration has moved to ease the transition. A broad-gauge Jobs for Veterans Program is giving returning servicemen special help in re-entering the civilian economy. This effort has had the President's continuing personal attention, and he stepped it up last month with an order to facilitate referral of veterans to Federal or federally-contracted job openings. He has also worked to minimize defense and aerospace employment losses—leading examples are the proposal for loan guarantees to Lockheed, and the determined effort, rejected by Congress, to save the SST—and this spring he initiated a \$42 million technology re-employment program to help jobless engineers and scientists back to work.

Though the long battle—and now emerging victory—against inflation and economic slowdown has occupied the foreground of public concern, the President has also acted on many fronts to insure the continuing health and balance of America's trillion-dollar economy over the longer term. Symbolic of this perspective is his call for a White House Conference to be held this fall on "The Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990." Basic transportation systems have been placed on a sounder footing by the enactment of Nixon proposals to expand and modernize the U.S. merchant marine, to set up an Airport and Airway Trust Fund, and

to revitalize rail passenger service by consolidating operations under a new quasi-public corporation. Still awaiting Congressional action is the President's proposal to protect the public against crippling strikes and lockouts in the transportation industry; ad hoc legislation has been required to resolve several such crises just during the time this proposal has languished on the Hill. The Nation's largest employer, the Federal Government, last year dealt firmly with work stoppages by postal employees and air traffic controllers and has worked steadily to improve and regularize its labor relations.

A broad program to support and assist small business was presented to the Congress in 1970. A far-sighted message on national energy needs—the first ever of its kind—went to Capitol Hill from the President in June. The administration has obtained legislation to regulate one-bank holding companies and to insure securities investors against brokerage failures; a Presidential Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation has been created to study other needs of American capitalism. In the field of foreign trade and investment, the President has worked to harmonize the national interest with the world interest, a task in which his new Council on International Economic Policy is taking the lead. When European currency adjustments prompted talk of a "dollar crisis" this spring, the administration calmly held course, and the dollar emerged strong.

"If you want to be a realist," the President has said of ventures at predicting the American future, "you have to be an optimist." The hard realism in his forecast of a good economic year in 1971, and a very good one in 1972, is becoming increasingly evident. Taking the longer view, his policies clearly point the way to a full generation not only of peace, but of prosperity as well.

## THE RIGHT TO LIFE

The unalienable right to life, asserted in our Declaration of Independence, has been significantly strengthened and broadened for all Americans during the first 30 months of the Nixon administration. The middle Sixties brought Medicare and Medicaid, but for far too many people, good health has still hung by the thinnest of threads—as thin as their income, or where they happen to live. So it is good news that the Seventies have brought President Nixon's comprehensive proposals for a real "National Health Strategy." His strategy, outlined in a special message to the Congress last February, includes these elements:

Build a better health care system. Through funding, incentives, and enabling legislation, encourage growth of Health Maintenance Organization (HMO's), where doctors can work together providing a full range of services and people can contract for comprehensive care. Alleviate personnel shortages by reforming and increasing operating and capital grants to medical schools, almost doubling aid for low-income students, and training more allied health personnel. Equalize geographic availability of care by funding HMO's, clinics, and health education centers in underserved rural or inner city areas; by offering loan forgiveness to medical personnel who locate in scarcity areas; and by fielding a National Health Service Corps.

Insure universal access to that system. Through a National Health Insurance Standards Act, require all employers to share (at about 2:1) with their employees the cost of basic health insurance, covering both normal services and catastrophic costs. Through a Family Health Insurance Plan, provide similar coverage for the poor at Federal expense, replacing the inequities and State by State variations of Medicaid.

Improve preventive measures to minimize resort to that system. Deepen the Federal commitment to biomedical research, especially against cancer—with

\$100 million more and a new, separate program—and sickle cell anemia—with a fivefold increase to \$6 million to conquer this special enemy of black children. Establish a private National Health Education Foundation. Increase funds for highway safety, job safety, and alcoholism treatment.

This strategy will meet the President's challenge "to ensure that no American family will be prevented from obtaining basic medical care by inability to pay." It will build on the strength of our present system to repair the weaknesses. It will foster cost-consciousness and bring the supply of care into line with the demand, so that runaway costs no longer make good health crushingly expensive. While much of the plan awaits action in the Congress, some parts are already moving ahead. The first HMO development grants were awarded by HEW in June; health service centers in poverty areas have increased four times over since early 1969; areawide health planning agencies have doubled in the same period and now serve half the U.S. population.

Particularly warm support from millions of Americans, and particularly quick action in the Congress, have greeted the President's call for a total national commitment to the conquest of cancer. The extra \$100 million appropriation in Fiscal 1971 funds which he requested for the new program was signed into law in late May—and the Senate has already approved his May request for an independent Cancer-Cure Program whose Director would report straight to the President.

As the mobilization against cancer accelerated in recent weeks, the President also escalated his war against another grave enemy of the right to life—drug abuse. Law enforcement efforts at home and abroad, education, and research programs in this field were stepped up early in the administration. They received im-

portant new tools in 1970 when the President established a National Clearinghouse on Drug Abuse Information and obtained—after 15 long months—Congressional approval of his proposals to reform the Federal drug enforcement laws. Now, with his comprehensive and urgent June 17 drug abuse message to the Congress, he has launched "a new, all-out offensive" to defeat the problem he calls "America's public enemy number 1."

Command center of the offensive will be the new Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, operating directly under the President and headed by a highly respected professional, Dr. Jerome Jaffe. It will coordinate the work of all Federal agencies and programs aimed at ending drug abuse and helping the users. Prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation programs, including methadone maintenance, will be expanded. The Defense Department has already commenced a massive effort to identify and rehabilitate servicemen addicted to heroin in Vietnam, where that drug is cheap and pure; VA assistance will be sharply increased.

Complementing these efforts to pinch off drug demand, the President has also moved to cut drug supply through better enforcement, requesting more money for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Bureau of Customs, and the Internal Revenue Service. Because narcotics production and trafficking is a worldwide problem, he has intensified our ongoing effort at cooperating with France, Mexico, Turkey, and several Asian nations in controlling the menace, has urged amendments to toughen the Single Convention on Narcotics, and has asked the Senate to approve the recently-negotiated Convention on Psychotropic Substances. On June 30 he was able to announce a major breakthrough in this area—the courageous decision of Turkey's Government to cease all opium poppy production within one year; Turkish poppies have accounted for more than half the heroin entering the United

States in recent years. Overall, the President has asked that funding for the drug abuse battle be increased by more than two-thirds over his original budget request, to a total of \$371 million in Fiscal 1972—and a measure of his commitment to victory is his pledge that if even more money is needed, more will be sought.

Two other major Nixon initiatives to protect the right to protect the right to life have progressed from the idea stage to full operation during the past two and a half years. The Occupational Safety and Health Act was signed into law late last year and took effect this April; the Department of Labor has moved rapidly to implement the act's landmark provisions for setting and enforcing on-the-job health and safety standards covering some 57 million Americans. For the coal industry, where danger has been especially high, the President put through a tough mine health and safety act during his first year in office. Inspection and enforcement under this act are now being carried out to protect present and future miners, while at least partial amends for an often tragic past are made through payment of \$24 million monthly in Federal benefits for black lung disease to 200,000 miners, widows, and dependents.

## ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

The strategy of quantity which America has pursued so successfully for so long, Richard Nixon emphasized in the 1968 campaign, must be matched by a new strategy of quality for the Seventies. It was fitting, then, that his first official act as President in the Seventies was to sign the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). "It is literally now or never" for our threatened environment, he said at that ceremony—and then he went to work to make it now.

In February 1970 he sent the Congress a sweeping 37-point environmental quality program. Water pollution control, including a five-year, \$10 billion Clean Waters Act; air pollution control, including higher standards and tougher enforcement; solid waste management, including far-sighted research and incentive proposals; and parks and public recreation were among the principal topics of that message.

Wherever he could, the President moved ahead through executive action: the Council on Environmental Quality (established by the NEPA to advise him as the CEA does) was put into operation alongside the Cabinet Committee on Environment he had set up in 1969; a National Industrial Pollution Control Council was formed to deepen public involvement in the antipollution effort; pollution abatement by Federal facilities was mandated in a tough Executive Order, and low-lead gasoline was decreed for Federal vehicles in another example-setting move.

Last July, he submitted a reorganization plan to combine elements and responsibilities from nine different agencies into a powerful new Environmental Protection Agency; Congress approved and by December the EPA was in business. One of its first actions was to initiate a series of water quality enforcement actions and an effluent-discharge permit program under the 1899 River and Harbor Act, an old statute dusted off when

Congress delayed action on the Nixon proposals for stiffer measures against water pollution. The President's air quality proposals, on which Congress did act, were signed into law on the last day of 1970, and this April the EPA issued tough new pollutant standards under these amendments; recently the President moved by executive order to deny Federal aid and contracts to convicted air polluters.

As the informal observance that began as Earth Day in 1970 blossomed into a Presidentially-proclaimed Earth Week in April of this year, so the entire national drive for livable surroundings and ecological sanity has continued to expand in 1971. The President's second environment message introduced a wide range of new proposals and renewed his support for those 1970 initiatives not yet enacted by Congress. A sulfur oxides emissions charge and a tax on leaded gasoline would sharpen the financial incentives for cleaner air; wider enforcement power for the EPA and more financial help for construction of waste treatment plants would speed progress toward cleaner water; new legislation on ocean dumping, noise levels, pesticides, and toxic substances would help the EPA halt pollution on other fronts. A National Land Use Policy, a stepped-up Legacy of Parks program, a power plant siting law, and a Mined Area Protection Act would help to protect the beauty of the American earth and to see that it is used for maximum benefit of all the people. Creation of an independent Environmental Institute for research and studies, would further the work of organizing for action begun last year with the establishment of CEQ, EPA, and NOAA. International cooperation to set up a World

Heritage Trust would provide the machinery to preserve earth's treasures for their rightful owners—all mankind. Other measures, as varied as oil spill prevention and Federal use of recycled paper, were also embodied in the 1971 message.

From the first, the administration's policy has reflected a determination to treat the root causes of environmental problems, not merely their symptoms. As no President before him, Nixon has come to grips with the issues of population and national growth. Two years ago he sent Congress a first-ever message on the population explosion, which resulted in the establishment of a distinguished Commission on Population Growth and the American future, and in the enactment of a landmark family planning services program. At about the same time he created the National Goals Research Staff, whose penetrating 1970 report "Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality" goes to the heart of the basic environmental choices we face.

That title sounds another keynote of the President's approach to environmental problems: his conviction that development and high living standards must be harmonized with, not sacrificed for, intelligent respect of the earth and the ecosphere. His June 4 message to the Congress outlining a broad program to meet national energy needs both amply and cleanly is perhaps the single most outstanding application of that conviction. Leading the program is a new commitment to bring the fast breeder nuclear reactor into commercial energy service early in the 1980's.

And across the board, decisive action has kept pace with talk and proposals. The "now or never" urgency voiced by the President on New Year's Day 1970, and symbolized by the pragmatic resort to a 19th century law to get moving against water polluters when a 20th century Congress stalled, has been everywhere evident. Drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel has been halted; the Everglades have been saved from a super

# The Domestic Scene

jetport; the Cross Florida Barge Canal has been stopped; the Alaska pipeline project has been subjected to intense study. Pesticide use has been reined in; several metropolitan areas have been put on notice that their transportation habits must be drastically reformed to meet 1975 air quality minimums; nearly 1400 Environmental Impact Statements on intended actions have filed by Federal agencies. The National Park System and Wilderness System have been expanded; dozens of parcels of Federal land have been turned over to States and localities for park and recreational use; urban neighborhoods have been reprieved from freeway construction and urban landmarks preserved for historic appreciation; billboard removal along Federal highways has begun after years of delay. Endangered wildlife from whales to bald eagles have been shielded by Federal intervention.

On the strength of evidence like this, the British scientist and humanist Lord Snow recently ventured, "The American [environment] problem is enormous, but...I shall have been a very bad observer, and a worse prophet, if America is not out of comparison less polluted in ten years' time." President Nixon shares that confidence and is pressing ahead to make good on it—for the earth's sake.

America's varied and lively domestic scene stretches beyond the six major areas so far surveyed—and so does the administration record. Campaigning in 1968, Richard Nixon said: "The next President must take an activist view of his office...[and] be deeply involved in the entire sweep of America's public concerns." The following sections look at seven sides of the Nixon activism in action.

## CITY AND FARM: A DYNAMIC BALANCE

When the talk turns to national growth patterns nowadays, it often takes on a dark note. Many observers see the cities of the future as dense megalopolitan islands in a virtually empty countryside. Some, like Peter Drucker, fear that the core cities in turn will also be deserted, leaving a totally suburban America with its vitality and diversity on the ebb. There are migration trends and other social statistics to support this dismal projection for America's communities—but there are also means at hand to turn those trends around, and the administration has concentrated resourcefully on doing just that over the past 30 months. The cities and countryside, President Nixon is convinced, can "progress together in a dynamic balance" where "mutual benefits of the urban-rural partnership would be manifest as cities enjoyed the fruits of a healthy agricultural economy and the relief of more evenly distributed population growth, while rural areas felt the effect of new social and economic advantages."

For citizens and public officials grappling with the "urban crisis" the best news in years has been the prospect of a continuing transfusion of Federal money through General Revenue Sharing. Everywhere that metropolitan growth—and hence the demand for city services—has far outstripped financial, political, and organizational resources, revenue sharing would bring desperately needed relief. Not only would the shared Federal dollars help cities meet bills and ease the

pressure on taxes and borrowing, they would also give urban government the kind of operating room that makes it worthwhile for officials to exert themselves and for voters to wield their democratic authority over public policy. And besides the approximately \$2.5 billion annually that communities would receive through General Revenue Sharing, the President has asked Congress to combine several fragmented, complicated, slow-moving urban assistance programs—including Model Cities, urban renewal, water and sewer grants, and rehabilitation loans—into a \$2 billion Special Revenue Sharing package called Urban Community Development.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development, which would administer this improved self-help program for the cities and which would also become the nucleus of the new Department of Community Development under the Nixon reorganization plans, is already busy on other urban problems. With an estimated 24 million Americans still living in substandard housing, HUD is conducting Operation Breakthrough to develop new kinds of low-income, industrially produced housing. Production of federally assisted housing more than doubled—to over 400,000 units—in 1970 alone. The housing industry overall, after weathering a severe credit crunch with HUD assistance, appears headed for a new production high in excess of 2 million units this year, breaking the record set in 1950. Meanwhile HUD's New Communities program, a pioneering application of the balanced growth concept, has whole new cities abuilding in five States.

Transportation—one of the most critical or urban life-systems—received needed assistance last fall when

Congress passed the administration's Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act, providing \$10 billion in Federal aid for public transit development to relieve metropolitan congestion over the next 12 years. Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation, proposed by the President this March, would provide over \$2 billion to the cities and States for general use, plus \$525 million more for mass transit capital investment.

In the city where Federal responsibility is most direct and immediate—Washington, D.C.—the administration has acted vigorously to meet human, economic, and political needs. One of the President's very first actions in January 1969 was to announce a program aimed at making Washington "once again what it ought to be: a proud, glorious city, cherished by every American." Focal points of the program were rebuilding of riot-torn areas—which has gone forward; combatting crime and improving the system of justice—which resulted in reform legislation and later in reversal of the city's 14-year upward crime trend; and greater self-government—which this spring led to the election of the District of Columbia's first Congressional representative in nearly a century. The special messages to Congress on District affairs which followed in April of 1969 and again this past April dealt further with these topics, as well as with mass transit, education, urban renewal and preservation, economic development, municipal revenue and financing, cleaning up the Potomac, and bicentennial goals.

What about rural development, the other half of the dynamic balance the President foresees for America's communities? Here too, bold steps are being taken. Among the important reform and assistance provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1970, enacted last fall with close administration-Congressional cooperation, is a requirement for annual reports on government services to rural America. When the first such summary was issued this March, it showed sharp increases in Federal help reaching the countryside:

housing loans up 56%, manpower development grants up over 50%, waste treatment grants up 174%, during Fiscal 1970 alone.

Also in March, the President proposed his program of Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development, which would make available \$1.1 billion for use in improving the conditions of rural life as the States and communities see fit. Indicative of the importance the President attaches to this program for a part of the country he calls "too often forgotten" is the fact that the 33 percent increase of funds it would receive over the 11 narrow aid programs it replaces is the largest raise given any of the six Special Revenue Sharing programs. In his message the President pointed out that the revenue sharing approach would permit use of aid money to reinforce healthy development trends in the potential growth centers located throughout rural America, thus opening up regional opportunities which may help to stem the flood of city-bound migration. The proposal would also establish a Statewide planning process to coordinate and balance urban and rural development efforts.

The farmer remains at the center of rural life—and his industry is, as the President told the Nation in an unprecedented "Salute to Agriculture" radio address on May 2, "a keystone not only for our economic strength but also for our entire way of life." During its first 30 months the Nixon administration has championed the farmer's cause tirelessly.

Farm exports, listless during the late Sixties, have grown with Government support and reached a record-high \$7.7 billion in Fiscal 1971; domestic markets have also expanded. Price levels for most commodities are strong and improving, with the major supported commodities now selling well above loan levels. All this has pushed the total income of American farmers higher than ever before. With most farm expenses paid at retail, inflation had hit the farmer especially hard, leaving an often disappointing net from high total incomes—thus America's farm families have been among the principal bene-

ficiaries of the President's drive to bring prices under control. The President has also moved to increase the supply of farm credit, now painfully tight; besides increasing Farmers Home Administration insured ownership loans by almost three-fourths in Fiscal 1972, he has asked Congress to permit FHA to begin insuring operating loans as well.

The Agricultural Act of 1970 which he signed late last year represented an important departure from the strict control structure of past farm legislation; under it producers retain their income protection but gain new freedom of choice and opportunity to improve their farming operations. Spending for Federal services to the farmer has grown steadily under this administration. During the Salute to Agriculture activities this May, which culminated in a White House dinner and exhibition, the President announced the latest increases expanded funding for research and technical assistance, conservation and watershed projects, and rural water and sewer systems. As drought has tightened its grip on farm States in the Southwest, he has taken a series of emergency steps to relieve the stricken areas.

## EDUCATION REFORM

Some of the most original of the Nixon legislative proposals have been the administration's recommendations for reforming education, growing out of the President's conviction that we are not presently getting full return on our education dollar. Federal expenditures have multiplied five times in the last decade, but performance has not kept pace. The Nixon administration has continued to budget more money for educational purposes than was ever spent before—and early in July the President signed a \$5.1 billion spending bill, largest ever for the Office of Education. At the same time, though, there have been a number of actions designed to bring real reform to American education.

The President has established a Commission on School Finance, a strong new program to guarantee the Right to Read, and a network of child development projects concentrating on the first five years of life—including a new Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In his 1970 message on elementary and secondary education, he called for a new National Institute of Education to do research into the "mystery of the learning process" and to sharpen our ability to evaluate educational performance. This year, besides pressing the Congress once more to build better self-renewal into our educational system through creation of this Institute, he came forward with an Education Special Revenue Sharing plan which would allow States and localities to make their own decisions about how to use \$3 billion in Federal funds, in ways that would best serve the educational needs of their own children at the elementary and secondary levels.

The ferment in higher education, much-diagnosed but little treated as the turbulent Sixties drew on to a close, has come in for constructive, innovative action from the President. Last year, in a special message to

Congress, he proposed to realize the goal that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money." Channeling more Federal aid money to students from low-income families and setting up a National Student Loan Association would put the goal in reach; more than two and a half million young men and women would benefit. A new Career Education Program would support the teaching of critical skills and increase the "job relevance" of a college education. And a National Foundation for Higher Education would foster "excellence, innovation, and reform" on American campuses. When neither house of the 91st Congress acted on these proposals, the President resubmitted them this February, pointing out that existing legislation in this field would expire in June, and urging the Congress to make 1971 a "time of opportunity" for advancing U.S. higher education.

In addition to the general reform effort, there has been special attention to the pressing needs of black colleges. To stay informed, the President met with black educators and last summer brought Howard University President James Cheek to the White House as a temporary adviser. Financial aid to black colleges has been substantially increased, and a federally-supported technical assistance consortium has been formed among 84 such institutions.

While convinced that the ultimate answers to problems of campus unrest lie within the academic community itself, in reform, responsibility, and moral order, the President has also undertaken both personal diplomacy and searching examination of those problems during his 30 months in the White House. He has met frequently with students, faculty, and administrators, and has made a number of campus visits—notably the Landon Lecture at Kansas State University last fall where he delivered a strong appeal for true

academic freedom and order, and the University of Nebraska appearance this January where he proposed an alliance of the generations. The administration successfully fought Congressional proposals that would have put strings on Federal aid dollars in order to curb student unrest; the President emphasized that he did not want to compromise the integrity of higher education by imposing a Federal code of conduct. The Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest which he appointed in the summer of 1970 produced a report which has proved useful to national understanding and action on the issue, and which elicited a long, thoughtful reply from the President to the Commission's Chairman, Governor Scranton.

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## FREEDOM FROM FEAR

"The ear of permissiveness with regard to law enforcement is at an end in the United States." This was the President's message to the Nation's peace forces and the citizens they protect, sent home with 100 graduates of the FBI National Academy earlier this summer. The figures bear him out. In the first quarter of 1971, the rate of serious crime increase nationwide was only 6 percent, lowest in five years and less than half the rate in 1970; 61 major cities of 100,000 people or more, crime over the period actually decreased from the year before. Convictions of leaders of organized crime have doubled; prosecutions of drug traffickers are up by two-thirds. Civil disturbances in 1970 were nearly two-thirds below 1968; air piracy is also down sharply. In nearly every category there is evidence that the war on crime is being won, and that Americans' right to freedom from fear is being re-established.

Two words keynote the administration's strategy: resources and reform. The President has increased Justice Department funding nearly four times over and bolstered its manpower by nearly one-third. He has raised the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget tenfold, with \$500 million of the \$700 million requested this year earmarked for more flexible State and local use to upgrade police and courts through revenue sharing. More marshals, FBI agents, judges, narcotics agents, and Assistant U.S. attorneys have been put in the field.

Paralleling the effort to do more has been the determination to do it in new and better ways. So that Washington could lead the way in the crime war, the President last year put through the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act. This important reform bill overhauled the judiciary, provided new bail laws to cut back on crimes committed by offenders awaiting trial,

expanded court facilities, and increased the D.C. police force. Late last summer violent crime in the District began to show a decline from the year before, after many years of steady increase, and the new trend has held. In addition, Chief Jerry Wilson's proud police force has won the respect of all sides for its firmness and restraint in a number of mass demonstrations, and its response to orders to "keep the city open" during the anarchic Mayday disorders was cited by the President as exemplary for the rest of the Nation.

The Congress last year also enacted administration-proposed legislation attacking organized crime, including measures to curb gambling and to enhance the information-gathering process. The Justice Department expanded its own campaign to undercut organized crime. New anti-racketeering strike forces were organized in major cities across the Nation and the use of wiretapping—closely safeguarded—was authorized. Passage of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 was another reform milestone in the enforcement field, and approval of the President's further anti-drug proposals will not only help to rescue drug victims themselves but will get at the very roots of aggravated crime, much of which is drug related.

Terrorist bombings, police killings, pornography, and crime in the transportation industry have each been the subject of vigorous action and legislative initiatives on the part of the administration. Also, both the judicial system and the correctional system have received reform attention from the President. A ten-year plan for upgrading the Federal Prison System has been put into effect, and the President has asked the Attorney General to convene a National Conference on Corrections this fall, similar to the Conference on the Judiciary at which he advanced his court reform proposals in March.

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## CREATED EQUAL

The truth of human equality was declared self-evident to Americans from the moment of the Nation's birth—but weaving that truth through the fabric of American life has been the work of centuries. Taking the measure of our progress as he assumed the Presidency, Richard Nixon saw the beginning of a new phase in the long struggle: "The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law." This May, in a letter to the leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, he returned to the same theme. We are embarked, he said, on "the building work of the Seventies;" it will be more difficult, less dramatic, than the legislative gains of the Sixties. But, the President added, if we persist with realism and stamina we can succeed in "translating rhetorical promise into concrete results" for minority and disadvantaged Americans. Much had changed in the twenty-eight short months between the President's Inaugural Address and his communication to the black Congressmen—for already the building work of the Seventies has made long strides, and the laws of equal opportunity have been brought alive in remarkable new ways.

The accounting should begin with school desegregation, the 1954 promise that really opened the modern era of hope and progress for black Americans. In the 15 years up to 1969, a scant 6 percent of all Negro children in the South had been placed in legally desegregated school systems. But by the time school let out this summer, that figure stood at 92 percent! Quickly, quietly, peacefully, dramatic gains have come. Key to the success has been the spirit in which the massive Federal effort has gone forward: firm respect for the law balanced every step of the way by careful sensitivity to the stresses rapid change would impose on school children and communities.

The President personally took the lead in March 1970 with a lengthy statement spelling out the philosophy of his administration on the school desegregation question. There he distinguished clearly between officially-caused segregation (*de jure*), and the kind derived from residential patterns (*de facto*), which the courts have not outlawed; and he pledged "a decent regard for the legitimate interests of all concerned—and especially the children." The Department of Justice and HEW have carried out their enforcement responsibilities under this statement's guidance. Meanwhile the President established biracial State Advisory Committees on Public Education in the seven States most affected by desegregation rulings, conferred with each of them, and travelled to New Orleans last August to underline his reliance on their leadership in achieving peaceful change. That leadership, and community response to it, have been superb. As the President pointed out during his recent visit to Alabama, Southerners themselves deserve much of the credit for actually moving the South ahead of the North and West in the effort to end racial separation in the schools.

Much remains to be done. Recent Supreme Court rulings have amplified on the Constitutional requirements in this field. The Congress has yet to act on the Emergency School Aid Act which the President proposed more than a year ago to provide \$1.5 billion in sorely needed aid both to help communities make the transition from dual unitary school systems and to assist districts which are seeking to end *de facto* segregation or to mitigate the effects of racial isolation. But the administration is actively committed to public education (tax exemptions for segregated private schools have been ended), to open education, to quality education—and this augurs very well for continued progress.

An important guarantee to minority Americans was extended and broadened in 1970 when the President signed into law strong new amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, praising the Congress as he did so for continuing a law under which close to one million Negroes have registered to vote for the first time and more than 400 Negroes have been elected to State and local office. With elections held last year and next, and with the 1970 census necessitating widespread redistricting and re-registration of voters, the Justice Department has maintained continued vigilance to see that the rights affirmed by this act are upheld.

Another major civil rights area, where much has been done to bring the law to life, relates to Government spending. The Federal dollar, whether in payrolls, contracts, or aid, must be a non-discriminatory dollar. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charged with insuring open job access for minorities, is being reorganized to improve its effectiveness. The President earlier chided Congress for failure to fund EEOC's operations fully and has now increased its budget by two-thirds. He has asked Congress to give the Commission more teeth and to extend its authority to the employment practices of State and local governments. Despite an overall decline in Federal employment since 1969, minority employees have increased; black appointees in high-level executive jobs are at an all-time high.

Equal employment under Federal contracts has been bolstered by a shift from informal methods to affirmative action requirements by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. Where job opportunity has been especially restricted, as in the construction industry, extra measures have been taken. The Labor Department's Philadelphia Plan, which sets mandatory minority employment goals on Federal construction projects when voluntary agreement is not forthcoming, raised minority participation sevenfold in Philadelphia during 1970 and is in effect in four other major cities, while voluntary solutions have been reached in 27 more communities.

Non-discrimination in the use of the money spent through Federal assistance programs—more than \$34 billion last year—was decreed by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Under President Nixon the Title VI compliance budget has more than doubled, the Justice Department's enforcement of office has been expanded, and staff training programs to upgrade Title VI effectiveness have been undertaken in many of the 22 agencies involved. Full Title VI protection will be continued under General Revenue Sharing and the six Special Revenue Sharing programs.

As concentration of the black population in the central cities of our major metropolitan areas has increased during recent years, the issue of "fair housing" has commanded rising public attention. President Nixon faced this issue head on in a comprehensive policy paper issued in June. Citing the trend toward racial polarity between city and suburb compellingly documented by the 1970 census, he pointed out its high costs in social estrangement and human deprivation. The administration is determined, he said, to create equal housing opportunity, so that people of the same income level will have the same range of housing choices. The statement detailed steps being taken by the Departments of Housing and Urban Development and of Justice

to enforce the 1968 Civil Rights Act's prohibition against housing discrimination, and it delineated the bounds of HUD's authority under Title VI and other statutes to influence the shape and direction of housing development.

Much is being done, the President emphasized, to assure low and moderate income persons, minority or not, "better housing in better neighborhoods." Federally assisted housing starts in this category have increased fourfold in four years, Federal facilities have been ordered to consider inexpensive housing availability in choosing new sites, and new relocation rules have been laid down to end callous uprooting of the poor by urban renewal projects. But the President also drew the distinction between eliminating racial discrimination—clearly a Federal responsibility—and promoting "economic integration"—largely a matter for choice and planning at the community level. He concluded: "Achieving our goals of decent homes and of open communities in a free and open society—this task summons the best that is in each and every one of us...We cannot afford to fail."

Freedom, the President has observed, includes both the right to choose and the ability to choose. With so many minority rights now established in law, and with the enforcement process continuing vigorously, the building work of the Seventies turns increasingly to expanding minority Americans' ability to choose. In two words, this means economic gains. Welfare reform, manpower programs, and educational assistance are all directed to this end. New "Black Capitalism" programs have also been launched. Federal loans to small minority businesses have doubled under President Nixon; Fed-

eral contracts, procurement, and bank deposits are being deliberately directed toward minority businesses and banks. An Office of Minority Business Enterprise has been established within the Department of Commerce and a high level Advisory Council appointed to guide its activities.

The 25 percent increase in the number of minority businesses since 1968 shows that these efforts are paying off. Overall income statistics also offer encouragement: Negro family earnings are growing faster than the national average, and in the under-25 group, bellwether for the coming decades, median income for black and white husband-and-wife families outside the South has actually drawn even. No miracles have been worked, but NAACP leader Roy Wilkins summed it up this way on July 4: "When you average it all together, it is a more promising situation...Somebody in the Nixon Administration is trying hard." Everybody is.

The equal opportunity picture, of course, is painted in more colors than just black and white—and the President has recognized this diversity of need with a number of special initiatives.

Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surnamed Americans, our second largest minority group, were long kept too much on the fringes of American life; in fact, the 1970 census was the first ever to study them as a group. Late in 1969 the President signed legislation creating a new Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-speaking, and other steps have followed. HEW went to work on bilingual and bicultural educational plans to help remedy school discrimination against Spanish-speaking children. The Civil Service Commission launched a 16-point program to open up Federal job opportunities for the Spanish-speaking.

For the first Americans of all, and those most shamefully neglected, the President declared that "the time has come to break decisively with the past

and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decision." His proposals, presented in early July of 1970, were enthusiastically received by Indian leaders. They would—among other things—give Indians themselves the opportunity to control government programs designed to help them, with special emphasis on encouraging greater Indian control of Indian schools. The President pledged more money for economic development and health programs and suggested new ways to aid Indians who live in urban areas.

Later in 1970, the President won Congressional approval of his request to return the sacred Indian lands near Blue Lake, New Mexico, to the Taos Pueblo, righting a symbolic wrong that had chafed for 64 years. "A new day begins...for the American Indian," the Taos religious leader said at the signing ceremony. Hopes for long-overdue justice also rose with Secretary Morton's proposal this April of a \$1.0 billion settlement to compensate Alaska's native Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts for their land claims in the 49th State. The settlement would also give the Natives full title to 40 million of the 340 million acres in question plus oil royalties up to \$500 million and would set up a new Alaska Native Development Corporation. An ocean away, the Micronesian people would benefit from the President's requests that Congress approve \$5 million in war damage claims for the Trust Territory of the Pacific.

Women—not a minority, but the majority group on the American scene—have also registered important gains under the Nixon administration. As the 50th anniversary of woman suffrage was observed last year, the President said in a proclamation, "Women surely have a still wider role to play in the political, economic, and social life of our country...Let all of us work to bring this about." He established a special Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, moved

through the Labor Department to end sex discrimination on Federal contract work, and directed the heads of all Executive Departments and Agencies to implement action plans aimed at attracting more qualified women to top and mid-level appointive positions. That directive, issued this spring, sets the goal of doubling the number of women in non-career jobs above GS-16 by the end of this year.

To spearhead this effort the President added a special woman recruiter on the White House staff. Already, he has named more women—forty—to high-level posts than any previous administration. Among them are the first women to head the Federal Maritime Commission, the U.S. Tariff Commission, VISTA, and the National Endowment for the Arts. He is also the first President to nominate a woman to General rank in the military services—five of them so far.

### ALLIANCE OF THE GENERATIONS

Three major White House Conferences in a twelve-month period beginning last December—on Children, on Youth, and on Aging—are symbolic of the President's desire to enhance the quality of the entire span of American life, from the infant's first moments in the world to the senior citizen's years well past the Biblical threescore and ten.

For children and youth, he has initiated a range of programs running from the "first five years of life" project and the National Center for Child Advocacy, all the way to draft reform, education reform, and the Constitutional amendment that cemented the 18-year-old vote into our fundamental political rights. He has assembled one of the youngest White House staffs in his history, and worked hard to keep the lines of communication open with youth on campus and off. In an eloquent address at the University of Nebraska last January, he challenged the students, "Let us forge an alliance of the generations. Let us work together to seek out those ways by which the commitment and the compassion of one generation can be linked to the will and the experience of another so that together we can serve America better and America can better serve mankind."

One organ of such a grand alliance, the President went on, should be a new volunteer service corps working for human betterment at home and abroad. On July 1, that idea became a reality as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and several other Federal volunteer programs joined to form the ACTION Agency. ACTION, in partnership with the non-government National Center for Voluntary Action launched by the President in 1969, will answer his Inaugural call "to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed." The young people who predominate in Peace Corps and VISTA ranks will work side by side with the older Americans who make up the Foster Grandparents, the

Retired Senior Volunteer Program, and the Service Corps of Retired Executives.

Activities like those last three are meeting a great need both for the people they serve and for the senior citizens who staff them—they exemplify the President's conviction that it is time to "stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America." At the retired persons convention in Chicago where he made that statement last month, the President also mentioned other aspects of his program to close the other generation gap, the one above 65. Pointing out that one of every four older Americans lives at or below the poverty line, he reaffirmed his support for the senior citizens' income floor embodied in the welfare reform bill, for higher widows' benefits, and for a cost-of-living escalator to make social security, raised 25 percent in the last two years but still too low in many cases, truly secure against inflation. And he stated his determination to move against age discrimination in employment and to replace substandard care facilities for the elderly with nursing homes people can look to as "an inspiring symbol of comfort and hope."

In its first 30 months, the administration has also taken steps to protect the Medicare trust fund and to help this program operate more efficiently. It has moved to improve community services, transportation, nutrition and other opportunities for the elderly and, of course, has waged a vigorous fight against inflation, which is the special enemy of older people who live on fixed incomes. The President appointed the first White House Special Assistant on Aging, who is directing plans for this year's White House Conference on Aging.

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## BUYER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

Late in 1969, President Nixon called on the Congress to enact a comprehensive "Buyer's Bill of Rights" for stronger consumer protection in the United States. The proposals met no success in the 91st Congress, so the President refined and resubmitted them to the 92nd, this time going ahead by Executive Order with his lead suggestion—creation of an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President. As the new office takes up its mission of coordinating all Federal consumer protection activity, these measures await action on the Hill: a product safety program to be administered and enforced by the Department of HEW; a Consumer Fraud Prevention Act to enable both the Federal Government and private citizens to bring unfair or deceptive tradesmen into court; a Fair Warranty Disclosure Act; a Consumer Product Test Methods Act; and legislation to broaden the powers of the Federal Trade Commission. The President also indicated his support for establishment of the position of Consumer Advocate within the new Federal Trade Practices Agency which the Ash Council has recommended as successor to the FTC.

Before the President set up the Office of Consumer Affairs at the White House this February, his Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs was already active on behalf of the buying public. She conducted the study that led to establishment of GSA's Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center, which passes along for public use the product data collected by the Nation's biggest consumer, the Federal Government. She has been active and successful in areas as varied as supermarket adoption of unit pricing, closer cosmetics industry cooperation with the Food and Drug Administration, and enzyme detergent investigations by the FTC. Her new Office has begun publishing a consumer newsletter and distributing

consumer education materials to schools nationwide. This spring it sought the views of 1,000 consumer leaders from all States in a series of regional meetings.

Recently, as the President's product safety proposals progressed toward Senate passage, he announced plans for creation of a new Consumer Safety Administration to implement them.

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## FOR HIM WHO SHALL HAVE BORNE THE BATTLE

Of the more than four million Vietnam era veterans who have so far returned to civilian life, and the many thousands more soon to come, the President has said: "These servicemen and women deserve every opportunity that a grateful nation can provide." Under that commitment he has increased VA appropriations by nearly half since 1968 and has gone to bat for the veteran again and again.

His Jobs for Veterans Program is mobilizing a wide alliance of public and private resources to give the returning servicemen employment priority wherever possible. The GI Bill education allowance has been raised by 35 percent, and enrollment under the program is up 70 percent over 1969. Veterans' home loan interest ceilings have been reduced for the first time ever, and the program has been extended to more types of housing, bringing loan applications to a 15-year peak this May. To make certain that such steadily broadening benefits actually connect with those who need them most, VA is holding field seminars, writing more than a million personal letters a year, counseling hospitalized veterans at bedside, even carrying out an unprecedented battlefield outreach program for servicemen homebound from Vietnam.

For the wounded and disabled veterans, whose sacrifice has been greatest, more and better care has been a top priority item. Three new VA hospitals have been opened during the past 30 months, and six more are

under construction; such construction is budgeted this year at 11 times the 1969 level. Medical research funds are up by one-third in the Fiscal 1972 budget, and 27 new drug abuse centers will soon join the five VA already operates. The President's personal concern was underscored last Thanksgiving when he and Mrs. Nixon welcomed wounded veterans from area hospitals for dinner at the White House. Overall, he has made it clear that he remembers the solemn duty of a nation turning from war to peace—"to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—" and that he is determined to make Lincoln's phrase of the 1860's a true promise for the veterans of the 1970's.

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# Conclusion

This then is a partial record of Richard Nixon's activities and achievements in 30 months as President. It is representative but hardly definitive, for the scope of the office, and that of the man himself, is such that much more might be mentioned.

For instance, space. As the United States has rounded out its first decade of manned space exploration, the President led the Nation in support and appreciation of three dramatic missions to the Moon and of a fourth voyage, Apollo 13, where heroism narrowly averted tragedy. He has shaped a long-range plan for the space program after Apollo, where there was no plan before. Setting high but realistic goals, the new approach brings spending more into line with terrestrial priorities so that we can be as proud of the planet we live on as we are of our exploits beyond it. The President's intent is not to de-emphasize the space program, but to set a sustainable pace for it. At every opportunity he has stressed the importance of ventures into the unknown as nourishment for national greatness.

Or the arts. The President not only supported a three-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, but has pressed for a dramatic increase in the funding of its two Endowments. If the Congress agrees, this will mean \$30 million for each of them in the current Fiscal year, three times the level of two years ago. For too long these cultural institutions have received little but hollow promises—generous authorizations but thin, fractional appropriations. Explaining his stand, the President said that for government to ignore artistic values and foster material abundance alone would be “like designing a violin without the strings.”

Or the Nation's sense of its history and its future. In scores of speeches over the past two and a half years, before all sorts of audiences, the President has come back to two magic dates: 1776 and 1976. America at her birth was weak in arms and poor in goods, he says, but rich in spirit—how will we

measure up at our 200th birthday? He appointed a distinguished Commission to lay plans for the American Revolution Bicentennial and has continued to work closely with it. On July 3 he joined the Chief Justice and the Speaker of the House in a special telecast from the National Archives to proclaim the beginning of the Bicentennial Era.

Or the President's relations with two Democratic Congresses. Thirty bipartisan leadership meetings, more than 1,000 other personal contacts, a stern accounting of lost opportunities as the 91st ended, a conciliatory summons to greatness as the 92nd began, “I Care About Congress” buttons in White House staff lapels—and 116 of his 212 legislative proposals enacted over the past 30 months, for a very respectable .547 batting average on the Hill.

Or his press-relations. Fifteen formal press conferences, 52 live television appearances, and dozens of other interviews, conversations, and news contacts in all forums and media, all of them conducted in a spirit perhaps best expressed in his remarks at the White House Correspondents' dinner this spring: “It is the responsibility of the members of the press to test the man, whoever he is...I can only say I benefit...from your probing, from your criticism...So thanks for giving me that heat. And remember, I like the kitchen. Keep it up.”

Or Presidential travel. Over 200,000 miles of it, to 17 foreign countries and 39 of the 50 states. To Bucharest in 1969 and Belgrade in 1970, as the first U.S. President ever to visit a Communist capital, acclaimed by huge crowds in both countries. To Mobile and Birmingham in 1971, first President in 50 years to visit either city, met there too with genuine warmth, and responding with the observation that Presidents should come South much more often “because this is one nation.” To San Clemente, his Western heritage and Pacific vision giving the Presidency its first California presence.

Or the Nixon White House. As American as ecumenical worship services in the East Room, as charming as a rainy Rose Garden wedding, as public as 3.4 million visitors on the daily tours, as private as the utter discretion that cloaked the first return visit of President Kennedy's wife and children to the White House.

There is still more, but these examples make the point. They attest to remarkable “energy in the executive,” and also to another thread which shows close to the surface here, more deeply buried there, but which does run consistently through the whole Nixon record: the quality of moral leadership.

Of all the elements of the modern Presidency, perhaps none is more important than this. It appears nowhere in the Constitution. To the contrary, as Hamilton in 1788 assured New Yorkers still mindful of Britain's established church, a President has “no particle of spiritual jurisdiction.” Still it is something Americans have come to expect and rely upon from the man they choose to lead them. Its responsible exercise, Richard Nixon has said, is a matter “upon which every President answers daily to his conscience.” We can therefore, it would seem, fairly regard moral leadership as within the compass of a review like this one, and can appropriately conclude with a look at this President's discharge of it.

Notions of moral leadership were

implicit in Daniel P. Moynihan's comments quoted earlier—in the idea that a President's duties include putting forth a large vision of America and speaking for all the people. Having just adduced a second thought from Hamilton, also cited at the outset, we now return Moynihan to the stand.

Looking at the administration from outside in an interview this June, the returned Harvard don pointed out that during the Nixon years "the center has held. We are not coming apart any more. We're stabilizing." Moral leadership, he added, is not to be equated with moral passion; in these times it more likely takes the form of calming the country and muting the hubris of public power, as the President has done quite effectively. Ahead for America, according to Dr. Moynihan, may now be a period of "great politics," "a process of mature, intellectual, moral inquiry." Whether we fulfill its promise he sees as still an open question, but he does judge the man in the White House to be doing "a President's job in asserting ideas of a new period."

That is one man's assessment—not coldly objective, by anyone's claim,

but measured enough, and fairly prestigious. It does happen to accord with the President's own sense of the task he undertook 30 months ago: to end the Nation's nightmares, then to instill the lift of a dream. And while such a task resists easy measurement of progress, the President does seem to be succeeding at it.

The war and underlying international tensions are being met and mastered, as are poverty, injustice, and pollution, and the selfish attitudes that help produce them; likewise crime and the lawless spirit behind it. People's perceptions of these problems, as much as the problems themselves, make up our nightmares, and here too there are good signs. Uncivil disturbances on streets and campuses are down, and so is the shrillness which not long ago poisoned so much of our national dialogue. Even the somewhat pessimistic Potomac Associates study "Hopes and Fears of the American People" detects a national feeling that we have "bottomed out" after a troubled time and will now climb again.

The nightmares are ending. But is the lift of a dream, the old American dream reborn for our third century, taking hold in its turn? That is much harder to say. The 18 months that remain of President Nixon's first term should begin to tell, as time alone can. This much is certain: the President is working with his whole heart to make it so. "I don't want to sound here like a moralist or a preacher," he said in a speech at Kansas City early in July, but he minced no words about the challenge America faces. "This Nation needs moral health." He spoke of the fallen greatness of ancient Greece and Rome, and called the roll of the enemies that brought them down—negativism, defeatism, alienation, decadence, the complacency of wealth. "The United States is now reaching that period" of testing in the life of great civilizations, the President said; but he went on, "I am convinced that we have the vitality...the courage...the moral and spiritual strength" to survive and prevail.

Just that visionary, that realistic, that resolute, is the hand at the helm of the United States of America, 30 months along in the stewardship of the 37th President.

Not Printed At Government Expense.



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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 31, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: McGovern

Attached for your information is a copy of a memorandum prepared by Art Finkelstein regarding the McGovern vote, and pointing out the areas where he is strong and those in which he lacks strength.

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT H. MARIK  
FROM: ARTHUR J. FINKELSTEIN  
SUBJECT: McGovern

With the exception of Massachusetts and Florida, the McGovern vote has been fairly consistent. He runs well in upper income suburban areas and in and around university towns. He runs weak in blue collar areas, and very poorly among the Blacks. From the few farm state votes that can be looked at (i.e., Nebraska), McGovern held his own but showed no particular strength. For example, where Humphrey was receiving slightly more than 40% of the Philadelphia vote, McGovern received 22%. In Pittsburgh, McGovern ran a weak third to both Humphrey and Wallace. In the ethnic city of Scranton, McGovern ran third to Muskie and Humphrey, and in Wilkes-Barre, McGovern ran fourth. Yet, in each of these areas, McGovern won delegates so that McGovern's delegate strength should not be confused with his popular vote totals. In Wisconsin, McGovern received slightly more than one-fourth of the Milwaukee vote. At the same time, he received over 40% of the Madison vote. McGovern's strength, then, throughout the primary state elections, has been one of a very narrow base.

In Florida, McGovern was no factor, but still received his votes in affluent suburbs and college communities. In Massachusetts, he showed broad strength, although he still did not receive any significant gain of the Black vote.

McGovern's issues appear to be Vietnam and, to a far lesser extent, tax reform. The MOR Michigan survey states that Vietnam is the single most important deciding issue to 55% of the McGovern voters. The next highest single issue was general unrest, at a far less significant 8%. McGovern should have strength in the farm communities beyond those of say, a Humphrey.

McGovern is little known to the electorate as a whole, therefore, his real strengths and weaknesses are not yet fully apparent. To be sure, Vietnam and liberal/leftists identifiable will be his strong issues. He should be able to attract the Black and poor

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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members of the electorate with his over-generous guaranteed income program. He should be vulnerable on "social" issues like amnesty, drugs, legalization of Marajuana, busing, etc.

Demographically, his coalition for victory must be the affluent, liberal, suburbanites, the poor, Black and White, the young and a significant number of farmers. It is evident that McGovern is concerned about his weak showing among the blue collar types, and therefore, will spend a great deal of time moderating his social issue position. If we are to drive McGovern to the left, we should try to do so very early to give voters a first impression of McGovern which will leave them wondering as to his fitness for the Presidency. It will be far easier to move McGovern to a far-left and therefore, defensive position before the general election campaign actually begins than it will be when all of the horses are on the track.

cc: Jeb S. Magruder

Committee for the Re-election of the President

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MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AGRICULTURE

The late spring has put our farmers behind in their work, so with the arrival of good planting weather they are now in the fields night and day. Their availability for continued work on the Vietnam effort, therefore, has been limited. We have plugged for support whenever possible in our contacts. A letter from Foltz appeared in The New York Times on Thursday. Also, Foltz generated a letter locally which was in last Tuesday's Alexandria Gazette.

Yeutter participated on the program of the Republican Women's Conference in Philadelphia Friday afternoon. He met with Wisconsin farm leaders in Madison that night.

Yeutter met with Bob Heiney, Director, Government-Industry Relations, National Canners Association, (at his request) on the issue of farmer bargaining. NCA can be of some help (in the campaign), but they put this legislation in the way.

Yeutter and Madson worked with Mike Scott on planning for campaign materials that will be needed by the farm family committees.

BLACKS

The dinner plans and program for the kick-off Black Campaign Dinner on June 9-10 were followed through and we pushed for key participants. In response to Senator Brooke that he is unable to be the keynote speaker we have devised a key speaker format. We are now lining up approximately five main speakers for a different dinner program approach. Efforts are continuing to finalize the seminars for the campaign dinner affair as well as media coverage and publicity. High Administrative appointees have been contacted and several have been committed for involvement in activities of the Black Voter Bloc.

Contacts with Nixon State Chairmen were re-initiated to finalize coordination and selection of Black state chairmen and/or coordinators. Strategy plans for Black state chairmen have been developed and are presently reviewed with refining being done on some points. The design and content for the Black Voter's Kit has been developed and will initially be distributed at the June 10 seminar.

Having completed the copy, the Black American Brochure is now being printed while the first issue of the Black Observer Newsletter is all set to go and we are only waiting on the mast head design. Copy has been sent to the Negro History Bulletin for publication but is being held for a final review and approval. Development of Black-oriented issue papers has been initiated for both national convention and state use.

With Mike Scott we finalized our promotional material needs. Presently we are analyzing the coordination of the "one-shot" project.

Through Bob Brown's office we have begun coordination with the Dallas AME Convention and are following through on this project presently. Also, the procedure for a First Family appearance has been finalized.

Key contacts have been identified in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Each contact was requested to correspond by letter expressing displeasure about the May 16 vote of Senators Taft, Schweiker, Mathias and Percy.

We have received letters and resolutions from the following people and organizations supporting the President's action in Vietnam -- all positive:

1. A. J. Turner -- T & T Associates, Inc., Raleigh, North Carolina
2. Mr. George W. Lee -- Senior Vice President, Atlanta Life Insurance Co., Memphis, Tennessee
3. The 39th Quadrennial Session of the General Convention of the AME Zion Church.

A Chicago delegation, led by Mr. Doug Andrews visited Washington and submitted a positive petition accompanied by approximately 15,000 signatures. Among the delegation was a young Black Vietnam veteran who had received a Purple Heart. He presently attends Malcolm X College in Chicago, Illinois. Without hesitation, he supports the President.

#### CITIZENS

Much progress was made this last week in staffing the new Citizen's office. While personnel interviews continue for the field directors' jobs, secretaries have been hired for Charles Shearer and his new administrative assistant, André LeTendre.

Approximately 18 functional groups are anticipated as a part of the full-growth of the Citizens groups. Immediate plans include visits with the state chairmen in Iowa, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Kansas.

#### ETHNIC

A rally and signature drive in Newark, New Jersey, was scheduled for Wednesday May 24. Sheriff William R. Heidtman of Palm Beach, Florida, has indicated to Tony DeFalco a willingness to take part in the President's campaign and his name has been sent to Harry Flemming.

JEWISH

Efforts for continuing support of the President's position on Vietnam resulted in additional endorsements from key Rabbinical and community leaders around the country. Dr. William Wexler, former International President of B'Nai Brith, Jack Stein, President of the Conference of Presidents, and Samuel Rothberg, National Chairman of the Israeli Bonds organization, all sent telegrams to the President at the request of Max Fisher for support of the President's position.

The Jewish Press, a New York newspaper which is the largest Jewish paper in the United States, carried a banner headline -- "Jewry Approves Nixon's Policy". This news story largely reflects the efforts made to generate support of the President and has had much influence on this part of the Jewish public opinion.

Political effort in Maryland was implemented during the week and a meeting was held with Mathias and his staff to secure cooperation and names. Meetings with Senator Beall and Congressman Gude of Montgomery County have been planned and will take place in the near future.

Plans for inclusion of specific questions for recommendation in the June polling effort by Bob Teeter were developed during the week and will be forwarded for consideration. Briefing sessions for our staff with Don Mosiman on four of our major states was held this week and future meetings with other regional coordinators are being planned.

LAWYERS

A state constituent group plan is being developed to be submitted to Mr. Malek COB May 25. The co-chairmen of the Lawyers Committee have been asked to submit their suggestions and recommendations in connection with the formulation of this plan.

We are presently urging members of our group in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland to write to the identified Senators expressing their displeasure at the Senators' May 16 vote and urging the Senators to support the President.

We are continuing to press for the earliest selection and appointment of Lawyers Committee chairmen in each state. The three co-chairmen of the National Committee have contacted all of the Nixon State Chairmen and we are awaiting recommendations from them. Immediately following the orientation meetings planned for the Nixon State chairmen, the Lawyers Committee will schedule an orientation meeting for its state chairmen.

Whitney North Seymour, Sr. will speak at the Association of the Bar of the

City of New York meeting against consideration of the resolution against the President's May 8 action. His position will be that the Association ought not to involve itself as an Association in areas in which it has no particular expertise. Mr. Peter Leisure, a prominent New York lawyer with the firm Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, has been coordinating a carefully directed telephone campaign urging those who support the President to appear at the meeting. Those who appear have been urged to vote against consideration of the resolution and if the resolution is considered, to vote against it. Mr. Edmund Burns, Chairman of the Young Lawyers Committee of the Association is preparing a memorandum which describes the inappropriateness of the proposed resolution under the Association's charter and by-laws. At present, a group of New York lawyers numbering more than one hundred have contributed approximately \$2,000 for the publication of an advertisement in the New York Times supporting the President's policies in Indochina and urging others to support him. No final decision has been made at this time with respect to the placement or timing of the advertisement.

This weekend the Executive Council of the American Bar Association, Young Lawyers Section, will meet. As a member of the Council, Dan Piliero will be in attendance at the meeting. He has already received offers of support from more than half of the district representatives who sit on the Council and represent young lawyers in the various states. Piliero will continue to solicit on a short-term and long-term basis the support and volunteer efforts of this group. Recruitment of members of the group for our state organizations will be most valuable in that we have direct and close working relationships with the members of the group who are generally prominent members of their local Bar Association and their own legal communities.

#### PHYSICIANS/DENTISTS

Bill Stover is presently setting up the state Dental team organizations with the following procedure:

- a) receive name of recommended state Dentist chairman from member of the National Dental Team Steering Committee;
- b) call state Nixon chairman for his approval of the choice;
- c) after clearance, send a Frank Dale letter to the Dentist asking him to serve; and
- d) after he accepts, a letter is sent from Dr. Gene Savoie (Dental Team Chairman) instructing him how to proceed with his organization.

As of now six state Dental Team chairmen are cleared and we are awaiting word from six state Nixon chairmen.

When calling the state Nixon chairmen to clear this dentist, Stover is also discussing the state Physicians' program -- no problems have been encountered thus far.

PR/MEDIA

As we reported last week, the Press Department was quite active in the previous week in assuring that the support around the country for the President's actions in Vietnam was enunciated. Although on a somewhat lower key, we continued to pursue that objective last week. The outstanding example was our efforts to assure a favorable outcome of a poll taken by Channel 5 in Washington, D.C. and advertised in both the Washington Star and the Washington Post. As you know, the poll resulted in a 80-20 percentage approval for the President. I also called about a dozen newspapers around the country at your request to get them interested in taking surveys of their own. I have yet to see any results from that request, but a typical comment -- and perhaps the reason for lack of results -- was that these types of polls are rarely taken by newspapers because they are so easily "loaded."

In support of the President's initiatives our speech writing division did inserts for Mr. Ed Nixon in Philadelphia, Texas, and Miami, a Gurney speech blasting the Democrats generally on Vietnam, and part of a Dole speech supporting the President's position. A substantial portion of the group's time was spent preparing for an Ohio press conference which was cancelled subsequent to the assassination attempt on Governor Wallace.

We also worked to help organize Black, Spanish-American and veterans groups to send petitions to the White House supporting the President's actions and assisted in the announcement of the formation of a group of student leaders for the President which received excellent coverage in California. In addition, through our audio-visual we shipped tapes and films to the home towns of the persons involved in the student leader group.

The press section arranged two interviews for Mr. Mitchell which resulted in favorable stories -- one with the wire services and news magazines and one with the Washington Post. Our project manager for the Youth Division helped in organizing a voter registration rally in various parts of Texas which resulted in excellent press coverage in that state.

As an example of the activities of our audio division, the log for the week shows supportive statements from such diverse persons as William Robinson, Republican Whip of the Massachusetts State Legislature; Defense Secretary Laird, Senator James Buckley of New York; Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona; Senators Bill Brock and Howard Baker of Tennessee; Senator Hugh Scott, Minority Leader of the Senate; Senator Robert Dole of Kansas; Senator Norris Cotton of New Hampshire; Senator Richard Schweicker of Pennsylvania; and Senator John Tower of Texas. In addition we distributed cuts from

Senator Beall on the busing issue; from Herbert Stein on the upturn in the economy; and from the Vice President on a variety of topics.

The Press Department put out a special edition of Monday which highlighted the great support given to the President's recent Vietnam policy by the Press and by leaders of business and industry throughout the country.

#### SPANISH-SPEAKING

Over 5,000 signatures of support for the President were delivered to Herb Klein on Friday by two Cuban leaders from Miami. Georgina McCormick went to Miami to assist in this project. A similar project has been begun in New York and New Jersey. This event was covered by the Spanish-speaking press. Representative comments from telegrams to the President from Spanish-speaking persons were compiled by state for release to the press.

The California pre-primary survey has been completed. Frank Almaguer started to work full-time on Monday. He was briefed and assigned several projects. Individual campaign guidelines for New York, California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, the Southeast, other urban and rural areas will be completed this week. Letters will be mailed to the state chairmen requesting prompt action in naming state Spanish vote directors.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

On May 16 a briefing was held for the surrogate candidates and their staffs. The principal speakers were Messrs. Mitchell, Stans, Magruder, and several department heads from the 1701 staff.

The surrogates and their staffs were briefed on the strategy and organization of surrogate scheduling. Included in the briefing were explanations of our Finance Committee and its relation to fund-raising events, which the surrogates will be asked to attend, and a complete explanation of the organization of the Spokesmen Resources Division and its relationship to the Tour Office. Other functional areas at 1701 which were outlined were Voter Blocs by Fred Malek, Polling by Bob Teeter, Public Relations by Cliff Miller, Press by Van Shumway, Advertising by Pete Dailey, and Planning, Telephone and Direct Mail by Bob Marik.

We met with Bob Marik to discuss the coordination of procedures that will be used to distribute state books and the preparation of attack plans that will be used after the Convention.

We met with Senator Scott's office to discuss strategy and attack plans for Pennsylvania.

We filled additional requests for the 1972 Candidates Conference.

### TRANSIENT

During the past week, the staff completed preparation of the business contact data file and began a secondary sort of city and corporate size to determine specific companies to be contacted beginning June 15. Conferences were held with representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and our Business and Industry Committee to define how the corporate special ballot program should interface with their plans.

Preliminary organization work was begun on the overseas citizens committees by identifying specific corporate executives who would be willing to serve as the overseas chairmen or volunteers. Agreement was reached with the RNC that the incumbent European Republican Committee Chairmen would be asked to serve in a dual capacity as Overseas Committee Chairmen in their respective areas.

A meeting was held with the political coordination planning staff to further develop the organizational concept for the state and local special ballot voter identification program. Work was begun on a summary of state absentee ballot requirements, the state special ballot program manual and the training outline for local chairmen and workers.

### VETERANS

The veterans continued work with organized veteran groups to generate congressional mail in support of the President's Vietnam action. Efforts were concentrated at selected Senators during the latter part of the week.

Friday, Saturday and part of Sunday were spent in Wichita, Kansas, working with the American Legion, the Jaycees and the Gold Star Mothers. Plans were finalized for parades which were held to support the President's recent actions and petition efforts were developed which took place over the weekend. A large 39' X 72' flag, manufactured by the Gold Star Mothers, was erected on a major downtown building in Wichita. The flag was designed to bring attention to patriotism and the Positive Prayer Parade sponsored by local parents of men killed in Vietnam. This activity received good regional press coverage. Three Gold Star Mothers who lost sons in Vietnam travelled to Washington from Wichita to present petitions supporting the President's actions to the Vice President on Tuesday, May 23.

On Thursday, a meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri, with the executive heads of the VFW, Julian Dickson and Curt Jewell, and the head of the ladies auxiliary. Appreciation for their support and work on behalf of the President was expressed and upcoming campaign activities were reviewed.

State Chairmen for the Veterans Committee were named in Illinois and California.

YOUTH

A four column photo on page three and accompanying article in the Los Angeles Times on May 23 was part of the coverage our announcement of student leaders for the President received. Reports are still coming in on the rest of the coverage but the reaction from the press was excellent.

Last Saturday we conducted a voter registration drive in five Texas cities. 16,000 doorbells were rung and 1,100 new voters for the President registered. We also received excellent press coverage on this activity, particularly in Dallas.

Thus far in California the young speakers we have trained have appeared at 49 high schools. Other such training sessions will be held in all the key states.

Four mock elections will be held on California campuses this week.

The Wisconsin petition drive received excellent publicity. All Milwaukee TV stations carried the story and the Green Bay station reported it three nights in a row.

LEGAL

We continued research regarding our appeal to the FCC for a reconsideration of the "lowest unit charge" matter, held several discussions with Commissioner Wiley and members of the FCC staff regarding their interpretation of lowest unit charge, discussed this issue with Senator Stevens' staff, held several meetings with outside counsel to discuss the lowest unit charge issue and to prepare drafts of memos for the Commission and for Senator Stevens. Discussions continued with the Federal Elections Office, the FCC, and with Mr. Muller regarding facsimile signatures, the "net vs. gross" question, and on proposed omnibus certification procedure and completed final drafts of letters requesting rulings on these three questions. Equal opportunities possibilities surrounding the showing of the USIA RFK film in Los Angeles were discussed with the FCC. The matter of an invasion of privacy suit surrounding their use of wire services photos in brochures was researched and advised the November Group staff on this matter. Advertisers liability insurance was discussed with Mr. Muller, as well as the issue of liability on altered checks. A memorandum was prepared for Mr. Dailey reviewing the outstanding legal matters for the November Group.

We researched the legislative history on the telephone provisions of the new election law and prepared a memorandum for Mr. Mardian; and prepared a memorandum also for Mr. Marik regarding use of telephones in California for a registration drive after the primary. We discussed the use of the USIA film on RFK with the Kennedy Center counsel. A memorandum was prepared for Mr. Odle regarding financial disclosure requirements under the new election law. Having completed research on candidate financial filing requirements in primary states, we discussed such requirements with John Dean's office. Research continues regarding American Independent Party

general election filing requirements in all states with discussion of AIP current status with Secretaries of State in ten states and updating our information for Mr. Colson. The Virginia Committee was advised on the requirements of the new election law. The questions of trade discounts and telephone polls were covered with the Federal Elections Office. The anti-Nixon advertisement in the Milwaukee Journal was discussed with attorneys in Milwaukee; and the various research projects in progress were discussed with attorneys in New York. Jon Foust was advised on payment procedure under the new election law for his events during the primaries. Glenn Sedan met with Jet America, Inc. to discuss their proposed contract for charter services.

#### PLANNING AND STRATEGY

The State Chairman's Organization Manual which was developed by Rick Fore is in the printing process at this point. This manual contains the outline of basic campaign techniques such as voter registration, voter identification and voter turnout, and is to be used by Chairmen to develop their in-state programs.

A tentative working agreement for direct mail has been arranged in California with the Reapportionment Trust Committee and the Committee for the Re-election of the President whereby Dr. Allan Heslop will be the funnel through which all requests to Compass Systems, Inc. will go. Dr. Heslop will have a report of all the jobs requested to Compass showing the priority order, the due date and the estimated cost from all of the users. This will go to Putt Livermore, the Governor's office, Lyn Nofziger, Bob Monagan and Bob Marik. Marik's office will duplicate this and distribute it to the Committee users. Dr. Heslop can be contacted at his office (714) 621-4416 or 626-7197. His secretary's home telephone number is 985-4850, and her name is Lynn. Compass' telephone number is (714) 277-6220.

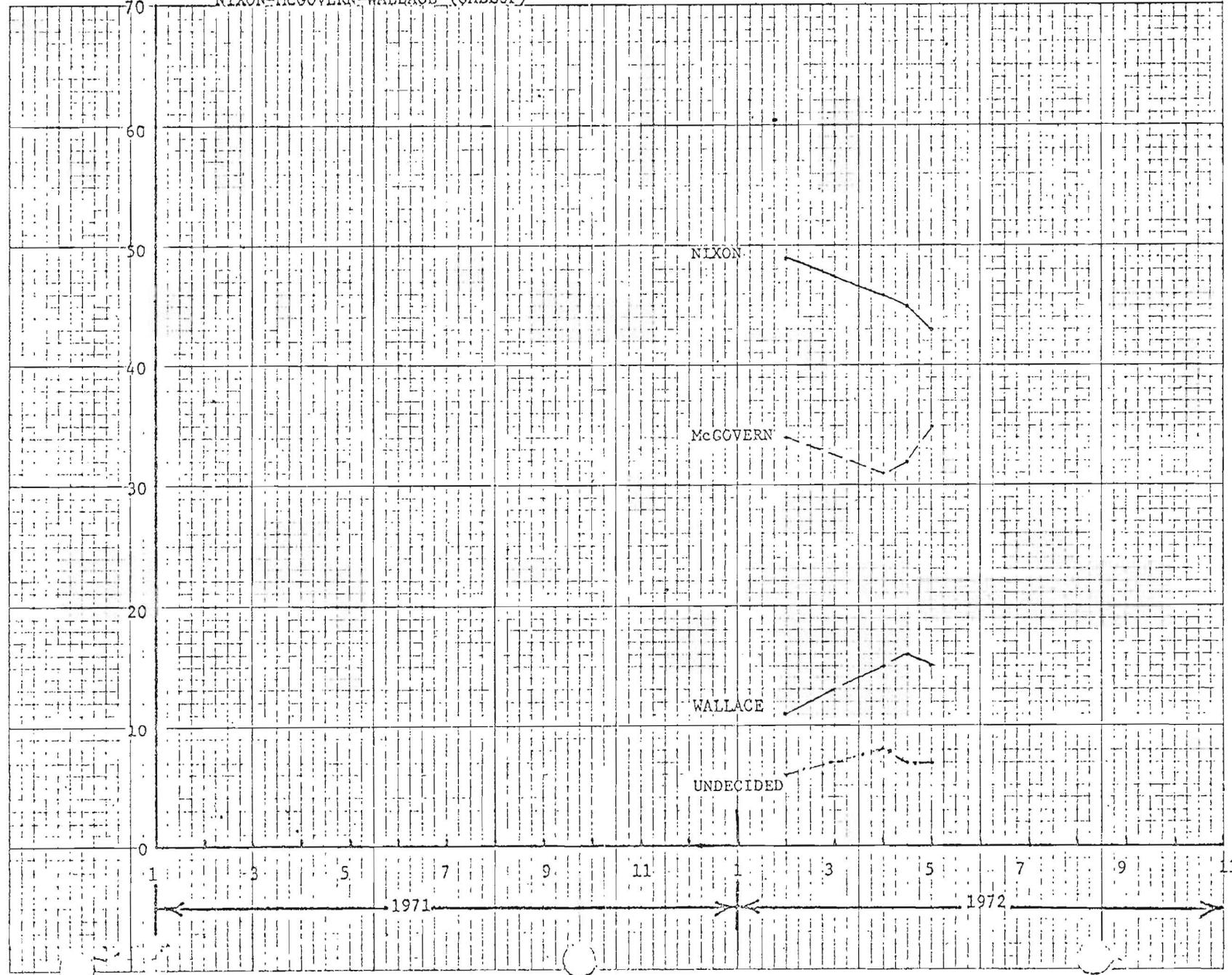
The overall agreement with Compass and the Reapportionment Trust Committee is being renegotiated and very possibly will be presented for signature during the week of May 27.

To date, the 1,700,000 mailings have been sent into the state of California which should result in 34,000 volunteers. An additional 260,000 ensembles should be shipped by air no later than May 25 into the state, as well as 135,000 ensembles that will be hand-addressed and sent first class in the smaller counties.

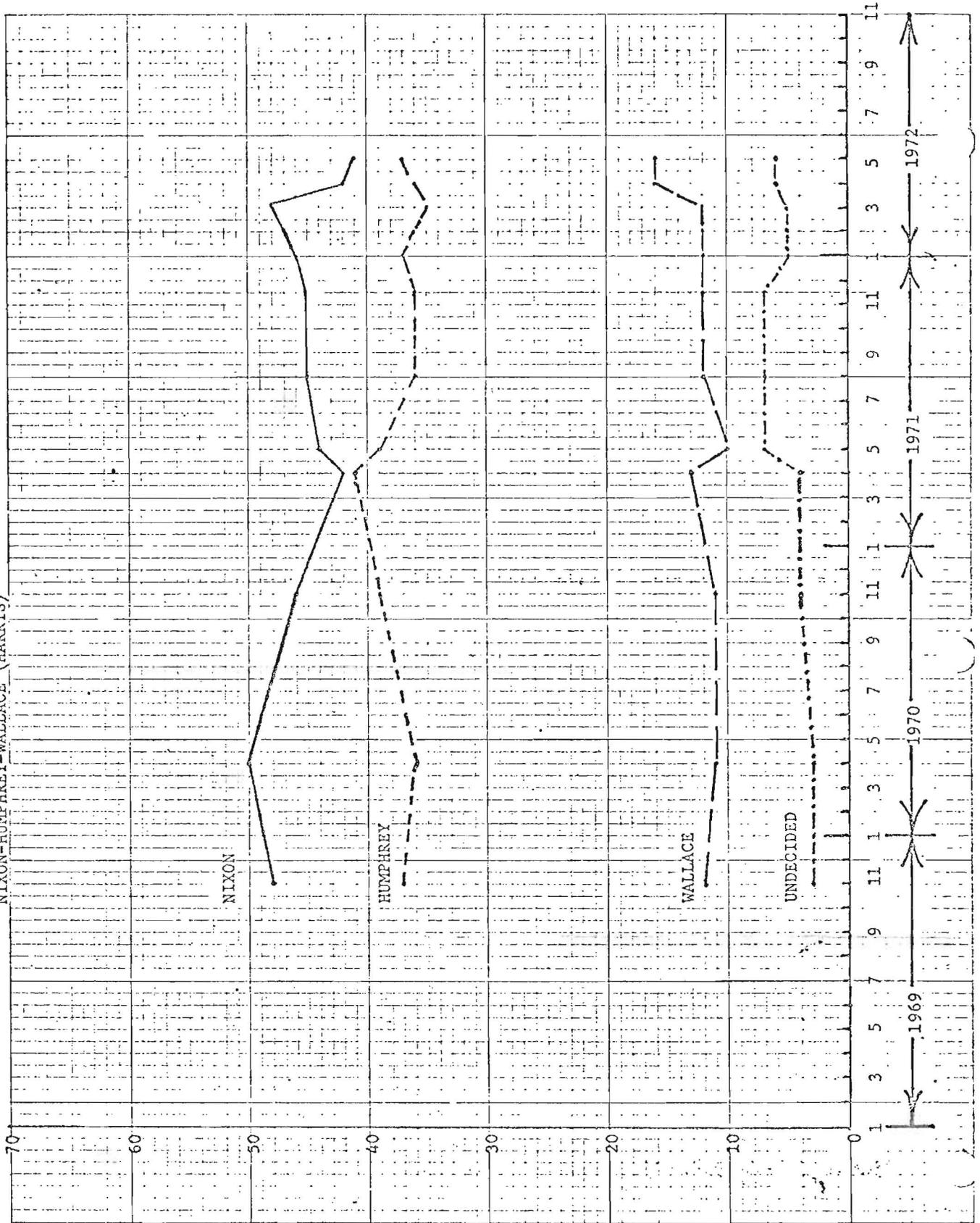
Manuscripts to be used in the Commitment Program have been distributed throughout the state, although all counties in California are not using it the same way. There are significant variances in the interface with the telephone banks and Pat Hutar's Hostess Program.

Attached are graphs of public opinion survey results updated with data released during the past week.

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (GALLUP)



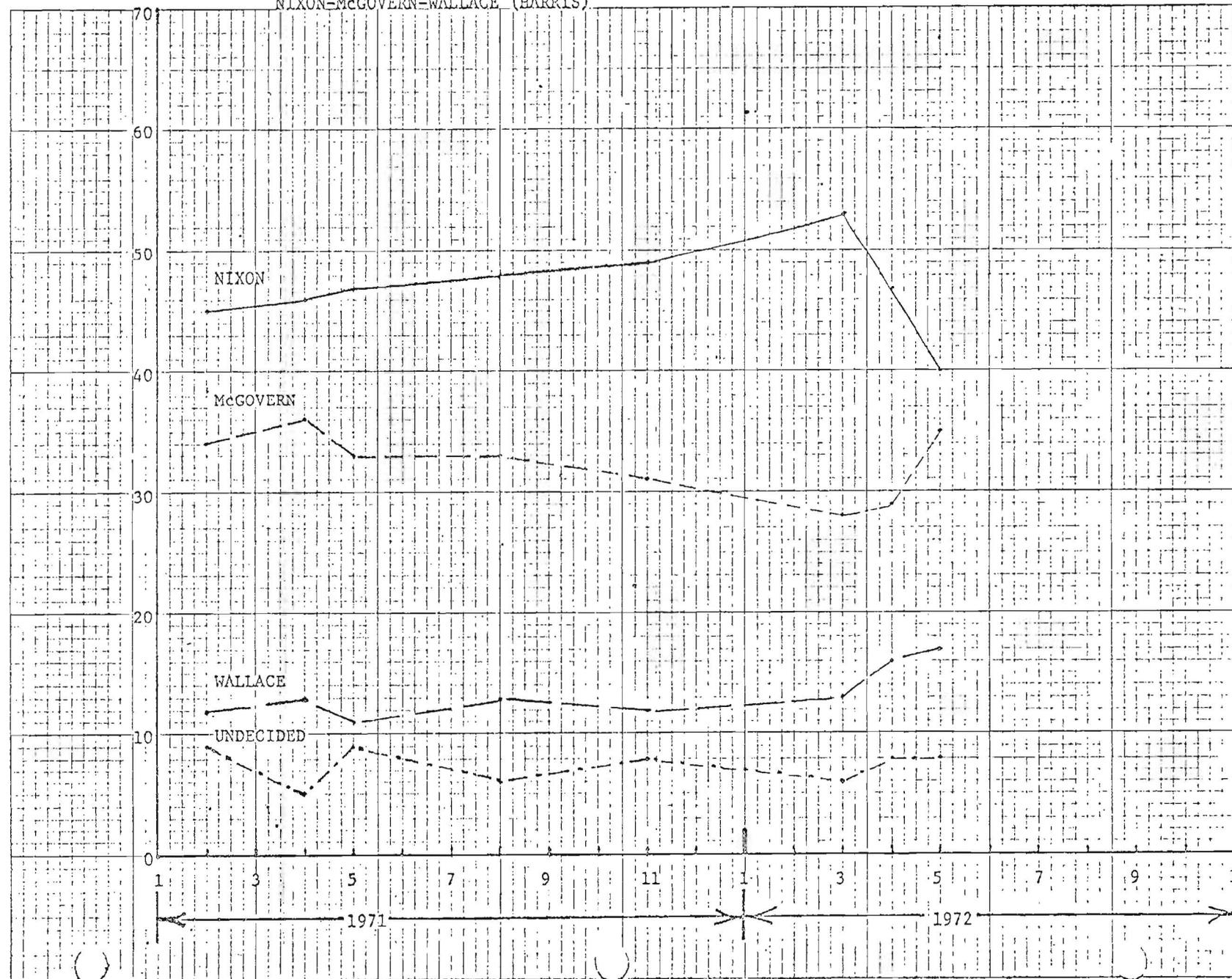
NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE (HARRIS)



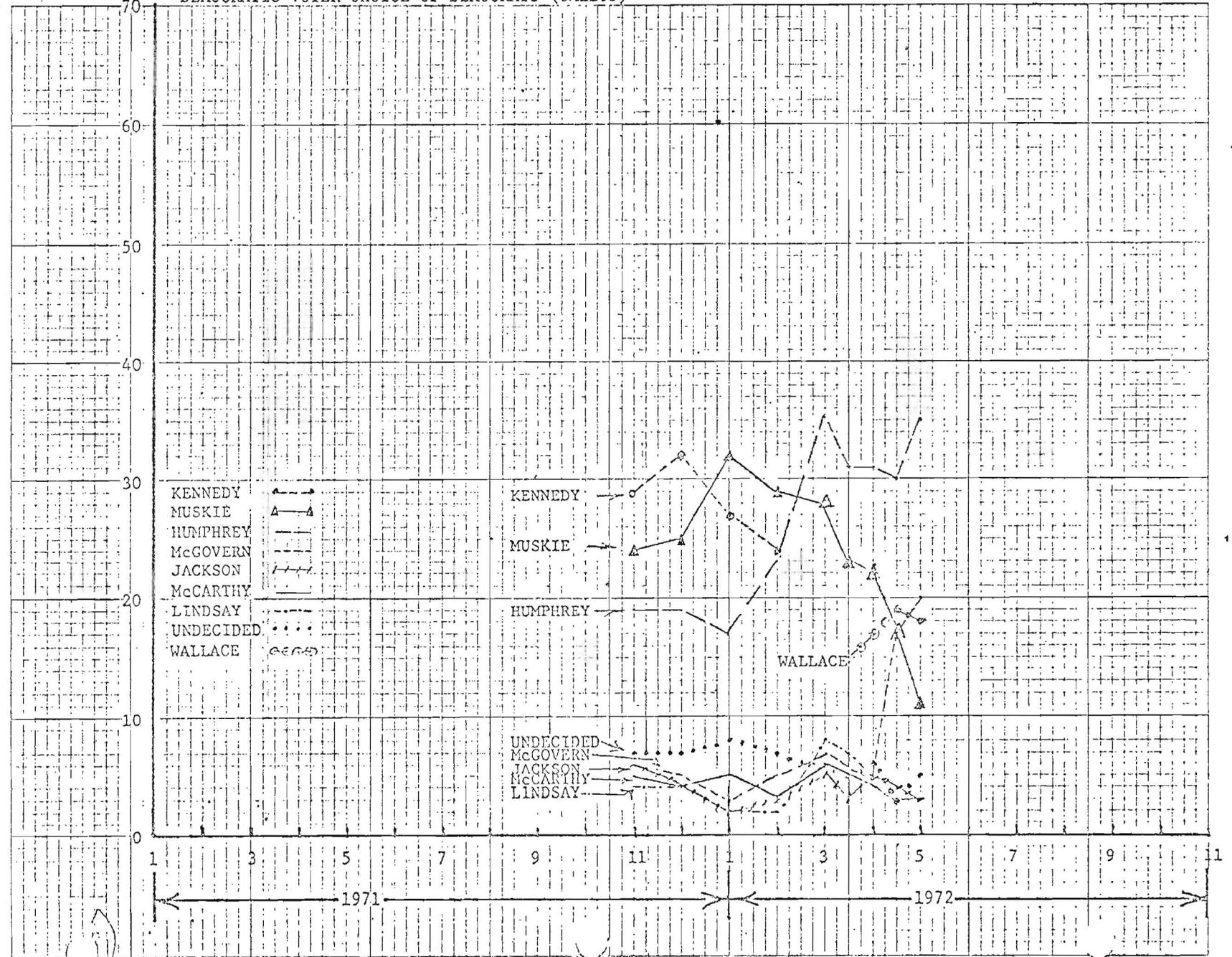
NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE (GALLUP)



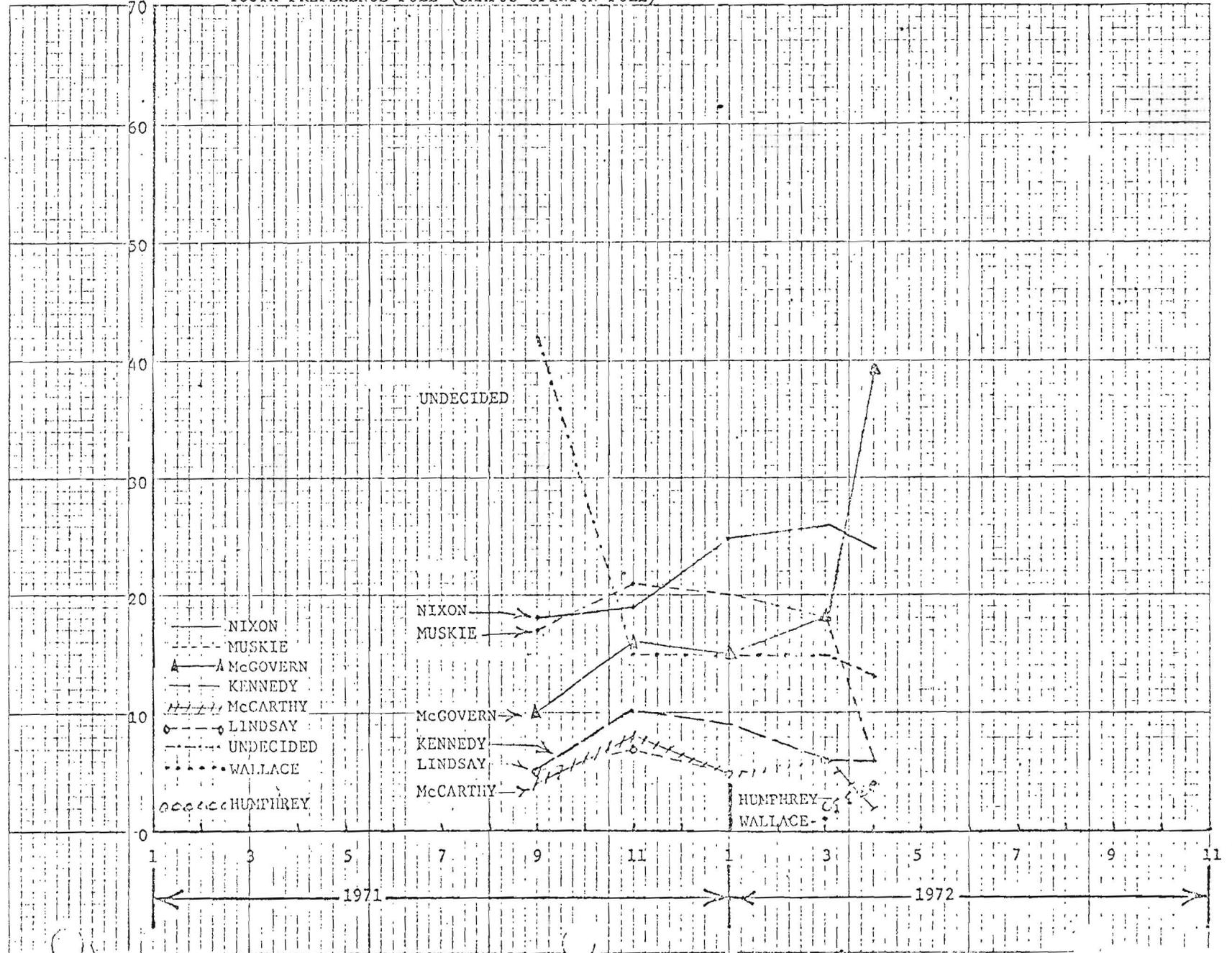
NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (HARRIS)



DEMOCRATIC VOTER CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS (GALLUP)



YOUTH PREFERENCE POLL (CAMPUS OPINION POLL)



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 17, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report. Most of 1701's activity last week was in support of the President's Vietnam speech, and included herein are several reports on that activity. Other reports were submitted at regular intervals last week.

Attachment

✓  
bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

## ADVERTISING

An analysis of voter blocs (youth, older Americans, women) was presented to the Strategy Group. A comprehensive plan for the distribution of campaign materials was presented along with 60 items recommended for use.

An analysis of major Democratic contenders' advertising and political activities to date was prepared.

While a state chairman campaign manual is in process, delegate gifts were designed and the Business & Industry campaign manual and "Support the President" bumper stickers were prepared.

On Thursday, May 18 the advertising research group interviews will be held.

## AGRICULTURE

All "Farm Families for the President" chairmen who have been named thus far cooperated 100% in the activity following the President's Vietnam announcement. In addition, many agribusiness organizations and firms contributed to the cause, as did numerous other individuals who were contacted by our group. Every person who was asked to help did so; there were no turndowns.

Yeutter accompanied Mr. Stans and Mrs. Mitchell to Nebraska for a fund raising luncheon and fund raising dinner. Both events were successes. He also spent one day in North Dakota with the chairman and finance chairman of that state's Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Madson met with George C. P. Olsson in Massachusetts on Friday regarding New England agricultural leadership for the campaign. That evening he met with the Farm Families chairman in Maine, Philip Andrews, on his farm near Fryeburg.

Foltz and Madson had lunch with the area directors of ASCS (USDA) on Monday to discuss ways in which their people in the field could provide input into our efforts.

Foltz met with Bob Miller, director of agricultural activities at WLW Cincinnati. He is willing to be a spokesman for the Administration when he is out giving speeches.

Foltz met with Harold Ford and Morgan Edwards, from Georgia and Alabama respectively, from a southeastern poultry organization. They want to assist through their industry and will provide names and make contacts for us.

Madson and Foltz met with Zack Fisher, assistant campaign director for Senator Tower in Texas. Fisher is concerned primarily with the farm and ranch part of the Senator's activities. He is providing us with names we can use in our consideration of chairmen also.

BLACKS

Follow-up activity continued regarding the President's May 8 speech.

Meetings were held with the fund raiser committee as to the progress of the dinner, and future activities and assignments were discussed to insure the success of the dinner.

We participated in the Philadelphia briefing for key Black leaders to discuss campaign strategy and overall Administration progress.

Julius Duscha of the New York Times interviewed the Black Vote Division regarding its campaign strategy.

Further discussions and suggestions on OMBE proposals were made at a Commerce Department meeting.

Paul Jones addressed the National Association of Minority Certified Public Accounting Firms at their first annual seminar in Washington, D.C.

Volunteers and new staff members were briefed on the Black Vote Division's campaign strategy and their role in making the strategy most effective.

Discussions were held regarding the use of Black/White (minority) Nixonettes for the fund raiser, rallies, receptionists and any future official use. We are in the process of assisting in trying to select a Black Nixonette state chairman for D.C.

CITIZENS

Charles Shearer has been involved in developing thought for the overall citizens area of responsibility. Shearer visited with Don Mosiman and Al Kaupinen in the political area and made contact with the various voting bloc directors.

On Thursday, May 11, there was a visit with the state chairman, Will Hays, in Indiana. On Saturday, May 13, Shearer was in Indianapolis to help the state youth chairman organize a petition campaign which will take place at the Indianapolis Speedway on Saturday.

The coming week's activities include bringing aboard an administrative assistant, continuing to develop an overall strategy for the citizens area and visiting with other field representatives in the political area.

ELDERLY

The OAD staff devoted its entire effort during the early part of the week to the Vietnam project. Ruth Groom then visited Tennessee while Chris Todd visited Pennsylvania and New York.

Time was also spent working on the Connecticut project and the last report indicates two bus loads of people and over 6,000 signatures.

Ruth Groom is leaving the OAD staff June 1 to take a senior position in Red Blount's Gubernatorial campaign.

#### ETHNIC

Arthur Stiveletta, chairman of the Wake Up, is planning a rally in support of the President on Flag Day, June 14, 1972, at City Hall Plaza at noon time in Boston. He is working with the "Hard Hats" on a march to City Hall. Tony DeFalco is working to supplement Stiveletta's committee with a group of Volpe people to increase the crowd size. This project has a lot of TV-Press appeal, particularly on Flag Day.

In Essex County, New Jersey (Newark), Joe Intile and his group are capable of putting on a large rally. He indicated that they want a resolution of their problems with the Governor which DeFalco plans to discuss with Don Mosiman.

The organization at this time in New York City is not yet set up for this type of activity. An effort is being made to use the Wake Up America Committee as a vehicle there. Progress is not significant at the moment.

Sheriff Heightman indicated that, because of a charter fight presently in his area, he would not be able to plan a rally until June in the West Palm Beach area.

#### LAWYERS

The final reports have been received from lawyers regarding our efforts of the past week. We were able to obtain the support of many lawyers in a variety of states. A particularly good effort by Ken Wright in Los Angeles resulted in two "letters to the editor" in the Los Angeles Times.

The most pressing need at the present time is for an immediate development of lawyer committees in each state, and organizational efforts are underway in that connection. We are tentatively planning a meeting of State Lawyer Chairmen in Washington for June 22, 1972. An organizational book including research materials will be distributed to all state lawyer chairmen at that time.

We are continuing to pursue projects which will demonstrate tangible support for the President in the organized bar. The Young Lawyers Section of the American Bar Association meets this weekend in Kansas City and the Board of Governors of the American Bar Association meets this week (Thursday to Saturday) in Washington. Plans for activities by both groups are being considered.

In New York, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York will consider a resolution condemning continued American involvement in the war in Indochina. After consulting with prominent New York lawyers we are convinced that the best course will be to mount opposition to consideration of the resolution and to urge a vote against the resolution should it be considered.

#### LEGAL

Phone calls were made to ten states to obtain recent information on Governor Wallace and the AIP's progress in filing for the general election. A chart was prepared for Mr. Haldeman summarizing the information on Governor Wallace in the 30 states we have been following.

The following major research projects were started after discussions reviewing the law in all states: 1) the legal requirements for qualifying for the ballot in the general election, 2) the law on absentee ballots, 3) the law on registration, and 4) a review of the law on residency requirements in the states.

Research continued on Dr. Spock's fourth party progress in qualifying for the general election ballot, and also on the uncommitted delegates being selected in the Democratic Party.

On behalf of the November Group, discussions were held with the FCC and with the Comptroller General's office to seek answers to specific questions. As a result of those meetings, letters were drafted requesting formal opinions. For one issue before the FCC, we met with outside counsel to draft a Petition For A Declaratory Opinion, and held further discussions with members of the Commission and its staff regarding our petition.

We reviewed the legislative history of the Congressional Resolution permitting the U.S.I.A. film on John F. Kennedy to be shown in this country, investigated the circumstances surrounding the showing of that film on KTLA in Los Angeles on May 28 and May 29, and prepared a memorandum for Mr. Magruder and Mr. Colson on that showing.

During the week, we discussed the unpaid 1968 obligations in Illinois and wrote to Tom Houser regarding those debts, advised the Young Voters regarding the CAB requirements for their airplane charters to the convention; discussed telephone polls with Mr. Mardian and prepared a memorandum regarding their legality; discussed telephone banks in California with Mr. Marik; answered various inquiries regarding the GOP and Democrat delegate selection process; advised the scheduling office regarding aircraft charters and regarding the Hatch Act coverage on some proposed spokesmen; discussed billboards and use of privately owned photos with the November Group; advised Young Voters on illegality of use of corporate aircraft; arranged with rental car companies for members of the Committee under 21 years of age to use rental cars on trips; and other general matters.

PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS

The instructions for the Physicians' fund-raising campaign have cleared the legal hurdles and were sent Tuesday to the state chairmen of the Physicians Committees.

Preliminary instructions for the Dentists' state chairmen have been completed.

Stover is continuing calls to the State Nixon Chairmen to clear Dentists' state chairmen and discuss the Physicians' program. That will be the principal activity for the week ahead.

PR/MEDIA

The bulk of the press section's efforts last week was directed toward support for the President's Vietnam announcement and that included every member of the section from speech-press release writers to audio to the secretaries who pitched in to make literally hundreds of telephone calls. There was the generation of letters and wires supporting the President as well as seeking to convince "fence sitting" senators to vote against the End-the-War Amendment. Due to previous reports there is no need to repeat that aspect of our activity, except to say that it was a very successful effort.

As an indication of the significance our audio network is gaining, Scott Peters reported that when he suspended the audio operation due to the assassination attempt on Governor Wallace he got a call from the manager of an AP regional network asking for material. The AP man said the only problem with our material is that we have so much he finds it necessary not to use some of it in an effort to balance the lack of good material from Democrats.

On Friday and into Saturday, at the request of Herb Klein's office, we called on our state monitoring system again to produce favorable editorials on the President's action in Vietnam. It proved its worth. We don't have an exact count, but we came up with about 250 editorials supporting the President. In addition, Scott Peters on audio had during the week distributed more than 50 audio cuts endorsing the President's action and answering his critics.

We were also active in the youth area where we distributed to all college newspapers a press release quoting Presidential support from such youth leaders as Harry McNaught, President of Boy's Nation, and Janene Forsythe, Miss American Teenager, among others. We got good coverage in Wisconsin on the Youth Division's petition drives during the weekend. We covered, with both our audio and photographer, the rally in support of the President on the Capitol steps on May 11 and arranged for a Georgetown University student to notify the press so it would not be traced to the campaign committee.

We prepared speech inserts during the week that were supportive of the President for more than a dozen surrogates, senators and congressmen -- including Congressmen Ford and Mathias, Secretaries Richardson and Morton, Senator Goldwater, Counsellor Rumsfeld, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Dale and others.

#### SPANISH-SPEAKING

The Nixon Support Project initiated telegrams, letters and endorsements from supporters in response to the President's address.

For the California primary test plan the direct mail was completed, the first letters were mailed to Spanish-speaking test areas, and the Telephone Survey was initiated in test areas (pre-survey to be compared to past survey).

We reviewed the MORE Survey on Spanish-speaking peoples. While the survey emphasized reservation on the Spanish-speaking towards the Republicans, the rating given to the President on specific issues were consistently high indicating open mindedness on the President's program. Other than that the report revealed no new findings.

We coordinated Heritage Groups' role with the Committee, participated in a discussion group and briefed the Group on the campaign's objectives, and also participated in a panel group briefing the Heritage Groups' Convention.

A trip was made to Miami on May 13-14 to organize the rally committee there.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We concentrated on activities relating to the President's address on Vietnam. Our basic responsibilities were to telephone celebrities, athletes, country-western music types, surrogate candidates, and personal friends, urging them to send telegrams of support to the President. Of the 300 plus persons contacted, more than 95% were totally committed to the President's program. All persons called, who were in support of the President, were urged to contact their friends and associates and encourage them to telegraph or write to the President and tell him of their support for his programs. These persons were overwhelmingly enthusiastic and guaranteed their utmost cooperation. Many were also urged to contact selected Senators and urge them to support the President's policy.

We met with Maurice Stans to discuss the organization of fund-raising dinners and the procedures to be followed in securing approvals of financial arrangements which we negotiate.

Preparations continued for the surrogate conference that was held at 1701 on May 16, 1972.

Roger Stone has started as an assistant scheduler.

#### TRANSIENT

The research and planning phases continued in preparation for nationwide implementation of the Special Ballot Program beginning June 1. Work was begun on compiling data on the 800 largest domestic corporations to be contacted, beginning next month, regarding implementation of an absentee voter education effort directed to management employees of these large companies. To support this part of the program, research is being conducted to determine registration and absentee application deadlines in all states. This information will be published as a guide to inform potential domestic and overseas absentees as to voting requirements.

The Special Ballot Director met with the Special Ballot staff of the Republican National Committee for a formal review of their organizational effort in key areas of the country and the division of responsibility between the RNC and the Re-election Committee was finalized.

Work on the overseas organization concept was continued. Conferences were held with the staff of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce Public Affairs and International Divisions to determine effective ways of approaching overseas residents. A meeting was held with the Jewish Committee staff to explore the value of establishing an overseas committee in Israel.

The staff spent a major portion of their time assisting in the effort to mobilize national veterans groups to indicate support for the President's Vietnam policy.

#### VETERANS

The veterans group coordinated activities among the major veterans organizations in support of the President's initiatives in Vietnam during the last week. This included press conferences and statements by the national commanders of the major organizations with ongoing support in the form of telegrams and letters to the President with this activity being redirected to the Hill commencing on Thursday. The feedback reports indicate an increasing level of activity on the part of all the major organizations. Two petition campaigns are being developed as activities during the coming week.

The state chairmen for the Veterans Committee were named for Maryland and Nevada with the Nevada chairman also serving as a member of the Advisory Group.

A veterans fieldman, Jim Smith, was selected to commence work on May 22nd.

#### WOMEN

The volunteer division staff worked on three phases of calling:

Phase I -- Calling to stimulate telegrams supporting the President's policy on Vietnam; writing letters to the editor; monitoring TV and radio talk shows and calling in to support the President's position; sending telegrams to the Senators and Representatives.

Phase II -- Calling to urge volunteers to write or wire the Democrat and Republican Senators to support the President's efforts to end the war and vote against any amendments to cut off funds.

Phase III -- Calling to get letters or wires sent to Representative John Ashbrook urging him to support the President's Vietnam policy; reminding them to write letters to the editor and monitor TV and radio talk shows and call in to support the President's position.

Calls were made to State Re-election Committee co-chairmen; State Federation of Republican Women's Clubs (in cooperation with the NFRW); county Federation of Republican Women's Clubs; volunteers who signed volunteer cards at RNC Regional Meetings and other supporters of the President.

Mrs. Hutar spoke this week at the ERA Jubilee Ratification Assembly and dinner. Nancy Steorts and Nancy Blair attended. Republican women played prominent roles in the program and were on hand to talk with other conferees.

On Thursday, Mrs. Hutar met with Mr. Mitchell and staff leadership to discuss the proposal for Volunteer programs. The programs and budget were approved with the provision that two programs be tabled pending the funding situation later this summer.

On Saturday, Mrs. Hutar conducted a workshop and was the luncheon speaker at the West Virginia Federation of Republican Women's Conference in Charleston.

#### VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We have two new chairmen for Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) since our last report. They are:

Alaska	Richard Cole
Oklahoma	V. Burns Hargis

This brings the total Voters' Rights chairmen to 28.

#### YOUTH

Our activities in the special Vietnam project included:

-- Generating 45,000 telephone calls and 15,000 attempts to send telegrams that we know of.

- Coordinating a march in front of the White House in support of the President. 75 young people showed up, but there was no press coverage.
- Coordinating a rally in support of the President on the Capitol steps. This was covered by all networks and a photo appeared on the front page of the Washington Post.
- Coordinating rallies in support of the President at USC, University of Virginia, and Bethany College, in addition to individuals holding signs and demonstrating all across the country.
- A nationwide petition drive in support of the President. We have over 10,000 signatures and they are still coming in. This has received good coverage in several states.
- A groups of 120 vocational education students will arrive in Washington Tuesday at 11:30 a.m., hold a press conference and lobby Senators.

We are planning to have 200-300 young people solicit signatures in support of the President at the Indianapolis 500 this weekend.

A rally in support of the President at USC is being worked up where they will burn a POW cage to dramatize the event.

A press conference in Los Angeles is planned to announce the support of 200 student leaders for the President.

Mock elections were won at JFK College and JFK high school in California.

#### PLANNING AND STRATEGY

Through Saturday, May 13, the Maryland telephone center had completed over 28,000 calls to registered Republicans for the primary election. Over 86% of those called indicated support for the President. Seven percent were against and 6% were undecided. Approximately 25% of all those called indicated a willingness to help in the primary or general election campaign.

In California, a total of 46,000 people have been called from nine telephone centers, as that telephone operation begins to reach full capacity.

Bob Morgan has been in California for the past week working with the State organization on the direct mail program, which includes provision for Republicans to volunteer by return mail.

Dick Shriver, who has recently joined the staff in a planning capacity, accompanied Bob Morgan to become more familiar with the direct mail and volunteer program, as well as the operation of the telephone centers.

In keeping with the May 15 deadline for the State Chairman's Organization Manual, we completed the first draft of this document on May 10. At this time John Mitchell reviewed and approved the manual. The remainder of the

week was spent on tracking with the Political Division and revision of the State Chairman's Organization Manual. Final approval was given May 15. Printed copies should be available for distribution to State Chairmen within a week to ten days.

JEWISH

Plans for organizing in Philadelphia are moving along and a list of 300 names for the June 7 meeting in Philadelphia has been put together. The invitations will be mailed Monday, May 22, and follow-up will be made to all those on the list. The luncheon itself will feature Max Fisher and Leonard Garment and will be similar in format to that used in other communities.

Chicago plans are also moving along well and Jay Pritzker personally told Larry Goldberg that he is anxious to continue as our chairman despite his brother's death as mentioned in last week's report. Coordination for this event is in process and invitations will be sent out within a week. Follow-up on all names is planned in same manner as above.

Efforts are still being made to gain support for the President's position in Vietnam and two of the largest Orthodox organizations have publicly come out in this support. This news was distributed to 1500 newspapers around the nation.

With Philadelphia and Chicago underway, we are targeting next on New Jersey, Connecticut, and Maryland for the same kind of approach.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

CONFIDENTIAL

June 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVERTISING

Seven campaign slogans were tested May 25 and 26 in California, Illinois, and Texas and the results are due on May 30. Detailed county by county media plans are being developed for all states. Documentaries are in preparation. Group focus interviews were conducted in New York to obtain voter reaction to selected television commercials. A direct mail letter and brochure was developed for the Mexican-American bloc in California.

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter and Foltz hosted a breakfast for several farm state Congressmen -- Mayne, Winn, Thone, McCollister and Schwengel. We briefed the group on our anticipated campaign activities. They expressed concern in two areas: (1) campaign coordination, and (2) the Presidential commitment to agriculture. On the first point, they are worried about Republican Congressmen, Senators, Governors, other state officials, and the President all trying to organize at the county level and below, and competing for the time, effort, and financial support of the same people. On the second point, they note that Secretary Butz has done a great job for the President in agricultural areas, but complain that the President, himself, seems to ignore agriculture -- in speeches, appearances, etc. We indicated that we are hopeful that the President will make a number of agriculturally oriented appearances between now and November, at least one of which will probably be a visit to a farm. But they are unconvinced that he has that much interest in agriculture. In view of the strong feelings that were expressed, Yeutter plans to follow up on this with John Whitaker and Secretary Butz.

Madson had an excellent meeting in California with Lyn Nofziger and Will Gill, the California "Agriculture for the President" chairman. The farm campaign in that state should now develop quite rapidly; Madson was very encouraged.

Yeutter met with Tom Huheey, publisher of the Farm Quarterly, prior to the start of a nationwide farm tour by Huheey. He has agreed to provide us with agricultural political reactions as he travels.

Yeutter met with Roger Fleming of the Farm Bureau on a number of items. Fleming is cooperating very well with our campaign personnel, but is still displeased with the Administration's stand on farm bargaining. Yeutter and Foltz are working closely with Secretary Butz and Assistant Secretary Lyng on that issue.

Yeutter and Foltz conferred several times with Claude Gifford at USDA re the effort of FARMARCO and four other cooperatives to deliver 280,000 petition signatures to the President. The petition asks the President to take immediate steps to raise and stabilize grain prices. All of us who are involved from the Administration's standpoint agree that the petitions should not go to the

President, but that Secretary Butz should accept them and make a courteous but noncommittal response. At mid-week USDA and FARMARCO had agreed on the wording of an exchange of correspondence, but FARMARCO then backed out the following day. So the matter is now at an impasse with the next move up to FARMARCO. In our judgement, this entire effort is designed to embarrass the President, though FARMARCO vehemently denies this. We're trying to keep the profile low, but we could be sabotaged in the press by FARMARCO or their Democratic friends.

USDA announced that it would permit farmers to reseal 1971 corn stored in warehouses. This was a good political move by Secretary Butz. It will be a price strengthening factor.

#### BLACKS

Invitations to the Kick-off Campaign Dinner were mailed to the honored guest, speakers, platform guests and cabinet members as well as Committee staff. Although the list of key speakers has been selected, we are awaiting the response of the gentleman recommended to us by Mr. Mitchell before releasing the list. We expect the list of speakers to be completely firmed up by the end of this week.

Further contact has been had with Lionel Hampton to provide the entertainment at the June 10 dinner. At the White House a meeting confirmed the involvement of Sammy Davis, Jr. at the June 10 affair.

The campaign kit inserts have been completed as well as the design for use at the Kick-off Campaign Dinner and for the Black Vote Chairmen. G. G. Pagonis, a long-time supporter of the Republican Party, met with the Black Vote Division to finalize plans for the June 10 campaign workshop.

Further efforts have been made to develop issue orientated papers for the convention. Identification of potential speakers has begun for the Platform Committee.

Finalized inputs have been passed along to Tom Scott who is responsible for generating Black athlete support. Contact was made again with all Nixon State Chairmen to encourage them to assist in the selection of Black Vote Chairmen.

Because Committee public relations efforts in behalf of the Black Vote Division have been lagging, the services of Jack Calhoun, PR staff man at ACTION, have been obtained. The first order of business was to initiate a concentrated public relations effort to accelerate the Kick-off Black Campaign Dinner.

Contact was completed with the constituents of Senators Percy, Mathias, Taft, and Schweiker to urge an expression of disappointment re negative vote on Vietnam. We also lent assistance in the Black Voter Registration Drive in

Connecticut by providing material and counsel.

Members for the National Black Steering Committee have been finalized. At the same time five people have been selected to serve on the Older American Committee.

Having completed the design and the test, the first issue of Black Advance Newsletter is due to be released during the June 9-10 affair. With the November Group the meetings have resulted in finalized copy for our promotional materials.

#### CITIZENS

During this past week, we continued our planning procedure and have completed our plan for the campaign which was submitted to Fred Malek.

André LeTendre and I talked with Bob Mardian regarding the part the citizens efforts would play in his assigned states. This was a continuing activity whereby we have visited with all of the State Coordinators so that we might develop an effective liaison with each of them.

We also were able to obtain the services of Don Brady who is from California and will serve as our Field Director in that area and will coordinate his efforts with those of Bob Mardian. Don is a highly successful California businessman who will be donating his time to the campaign, but will continue to make his headquarters in California.

Louis Laun, current President of the Celanese Fibers Marketing Company in New York, has agreed to serve as our Field representative in the Eastern part of the United States. Like Don, he is donating his time during the campaign and will continue to office in New York.

In order to get a picture of some of the activities in our area from the '68 campaign, I visited with Jack Padrick. Jack has agreed to help us in any area where we feel his services can be used. We still need to obtain the services of two other keymen and hire some younger people who will act as a Washington liaison to the Field Director. These men should be brought aboard this week.

#### ELDERLY

The bulk of our time was spent preparing two documents -- one a compendium of objectives and services for Fred Malek and the other a revised field operations plan for our state operatives which spells out the exact functions and responsibilities assigned to them once they get their organization in place.

Mills spent the entire week in the field visiting the smaller states and getting them set up so that his entire time after June 6th can be spent in priority areas.

Groom spent most of the week completing her work and getting ready to hand it over to her successor.

Chris Todd devoted most of her time to the National Advisory Committee securing commitments from those nominated. She also met with representatives from New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

To date the OAD staff has visited 24 states to set up individual field organizations. We have Older Americans Chairmen in place in 12, with candidates under consideration in six others.

Dan Todd also participated in the strategy session at Camp David; did further work on a national rally and continued to assist the DAC staff in the design and implementation of the Administration's strategy. The overall Press/Media plan was also finalized in accordance with the guidelines developed by Ann Dore.

#### ETHNIC

Sam Nakis, Supreme President, Order of Ahepa, has agreed to enlist the support of Greek community leaders who are willing to work with the Nixon Independent Chairman. He will contact Fred Malek with the individuals' names, a brief background and telephone numbers.

Nakis has also requested that the President address his convention on August 24, 1972, in Atlanta, Georgia where 6,000 are expected to attend the banquet. This request has been sent to the White House scheduling staff.

Phil Guarino of Washington, D.C., and Frank Tufaro of New York City have volunteered to activate the Italian-American groups who were active in the last campaign. DeFalco has talked to their people in Newark, New York City, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. It is anticipated these groups will be a great help in the campaign.

#### JEWISH

Larry Goldberg attended the meeting at Camp David on Thursday and Friday for the voting bloc groups and found it a very helpful experience. In addition to the details covered, the overview of the campaign structure provided beneficial insights for our planning.

Larry Goldberg and Mike Abrams spent several days in Florida working on the organization of Southern Florida, principally in the areas of Miami and Fort Lauderdale. Norman Breman, who is a capable and experienced political hand, will serve as Chairman of the actual campaign structure itself with Gerald Falick of Miami Beach backing him up. Additional people for the basic group are being recruited and Abrams is scheduled for an early return for follow up.

Efforts for organizing Maryland are moving along. We anticipate two separate organizations for this state -- one each for Baltimore and Montgomery Counties. All efforts are being focused on the recruitment of people to help in organizing meetings in these two communities soon.

A mailing was begun of selected materials to our key leaders around the country to keep them informed of items of specific interest. This is not a newsletter, but a weekly mailing of particular articles and fact sheets and other pertinent information.

#### LAWYERS

We have submitted a final draft of our State Constituent Group Plan to Mr. Malek. As part of our plan we have developed a schedule and chronology of proposed state lawyers committee activities. The plan includes a telephone campaign concept not unlike the present Host and Hostess Program, as well as a state-oriented direct mail campaign. The object of the telephone and mail campaigns will be to identify early sources for fund-raising and volunteer efforts. The plan includes a number of other programs. One program contemplates special events for lawyers, their wives and their friends. A variety of other programs are under consideration including the Convince-a-Client program, fund-raising, endorsements, speakers, media initiation and response, and selected advertising. The latter two programs will be undertaken in close coordination with the Nixon state chairmen.

Highest priority is being placed upon continued selection and appointment of Lawyers Committee chairmen in each state.

Preparation has begun on the development of a manual which will be distributed to all state, county and city Lawyers Committee chairmen in early July. The manual will be in two sections. The first section will describe the goals of the state Lawyers Committees and will set forth suggested organizational plans for the state Lawyers Committees and suggested action programs. The second section will be comprised of selected "fact sheets" and proposed speeches, both of which are already available. The manual will be distributed in advance of and will be the subject of discussion at the lawyers orientation meeting which is presently planned for early July.

Specific plans for lawyers attending the convention are being developed for submission to Mr. Malek COB May 31.

At the request of Mr. Malek, we met with Lee Nunn in order to develop a fund-raising effort which will be integrated with each state lawyers committee program. A concrete proposal will be developed in this connection and will be submitted COB June 2.

As anticipated, a resolution condemning continued American involvement in the war in Indochina was proposed and passed at the May 23 meeting of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York. A short article appeared on Wednesday, May 24 in the New York Times. Two years ago a similar resolution passed by a margin of 3 to 1. This resolution passed by a margin of 2 to 1. We believe that the efforts of a number of prominent New York lawyers directed at encouraging supporters of the President to appear contributed to the increased support for the President.

On May 25, the Lawyers Committee to Support the President for Peace in Vietnam placed an advertisement in the New York Times. The copy read "We support the President in his efforts to achieve an honorable peace." Some 97 New York lawyers, including members of prominent firms and lawyers whose names are prominent in the New York legal community, signed the advertisement.

#### PR/MEDIA

The major efforts of the press office last week centered around getting domestic radiation of President Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union and the agreements signed there. We used audio, video, surrogates and other resources for that purpose.

For example, we prepared speech inserts for Mr. Mitchell on the SALT talks and for Bob Dole and Ed Nixon at their various appearances. For our audio and video we got comments from Senators Brock, Scott, Curtis, Aiken, Gurney, Smith, Baker, and Jayits on various elements of the President's trip.

As part of our continuing test of the video capability we also filmed a press conference of youth leaders in Los Angeles and sent film to their home town stations across the country. Preliminary checks indicated virtually 100 percent use. We also assisted in the preparation and production of a press conference announcing the selection of Charles Ross as Ohio Campaign Director. A picture of Ross at the press conference with a cut line was mailed to all larger weekly newspapers in Ohio.

We are working with the Black Division in an effort to assist their proposed dinner to support the President. However, it is going to take a major effort in our view to pull this event up to expectations. We see it as in serious difficulties at this time.

### SPANISH-SPEAKING

Separate campaign guidelines were developed for New York, California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, the Southwest, urban, and rural areas. Re the California primary test, the second mailing was completed and now the telephone campaign is contacting Spanish-speaking people to obtain their views on campaign issues.

In Houston Alex Armendaris met with Alfred Hernandez, a key Spanish-speaking Democrat leader, to discuss a public endorsement of the President. The Philippino vote was discussed with Mr. M. H. Jacaban who will submit a report on this particular voter group.

Two advertising agencies -- the Spanish Advertising and Marketing Service Cuban Advertising Firm and Nick Reyes and Associates, a Mexican-American advertising group -- were both interviewed and in turn referred to the November Group.

Planned activities include completing the telephone and direct mail campaign in California and a search for a fieldman.

### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We met with Lang Washburn of the Finance Committee to discuss the coordination of fund-raising events that will be taking place between now and the election. Special attention was paid to the fund-raising dinners now planned for September 26.

We met with John Whitaker for the purpose of obtaining advice concerning the preparation of a surrogate attack plan for after the convention. We also commenced the preparation of that plan.

We have begun preliminary investigations concerning the possibility of arranging for a campaign train to make a whistle-stop tour across the country.

We prepared and submitted our program activity plan for the state books being prepared by Dr. Marik.

We met with Diane Miller of Pennsylvania to discuss the application of the Spokesmen Resources program in Pennsylvania.

### TRANSIENT

During the past week, work was begun on establishing the overseas absentee ballot organization. Country chairmen were appointed for Okinawa and Thailand and lists of potential overseas committeemen have been developed for major South American countries. Raw research data outlining state-by-state voter eligibility requirements for citizens residing overseas has been received and is now being summarized for use by the overseas committees.

The final revisions to the Special Ballot Program Plan were completed and this master plan was submitted for review and comment before being circulated. Work was begun on the master outlines for the Overseas Chairman's Manual and State Special Ballot Chairman's Guide. The design of the special material needed for the business contact program has been started and the master data file of the Fortune "750" companies is complete.

Mr. McAdoo visited California to interview candidates for western field representative and contacted six corporations with major operations in the Far East and South America to identify executives who would be willing to serve as special ballot volunteers.

Several meetings were held with RNC staff members to further define activities on the European Republican Committee and assess drafts of various program manuals and training guides.

#### VETERANS

During the weekend of May 19-21, members of the Jaycees, American Legion and Gold Star Mothers organization in Wichita, Kansas, gathered names on a petition in support of the President's recent Vietnam action. By Monday morning they had over 5,000 names on the petition. On Monday we finalized arrangements for three Gold Star Mothers who lost sons in Vietnam to travel from Wichita to Washington, D.C., to present the petition. The Kansas State American Legion Commander, Ed Newman, accompanied the women.

A presentation was made to the three mothers on Tuesday morning by the National Adjutant of the American Legion in appreciation for their efforts in gathering support for the President. Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Land and Mrs. Bickford then went to the White House to present their petition to the Vice President and spent about 15 minutes with him. The White House press corps covered the presentation of the petition and a press conference was held with the ladies. Selected ABC affiliates covered the event on the Tuesday evening news and CBS included extensive coverage on the Wednesday morning network news. We feel that the effort was very effective in terms of news coverage.

Jim Smith has joined our staff and he is in the process of contacting the Veterans Chairmen, who have been appointed in the key states, to set up field meetings. Keith Brecheisen has been named as our Veterans state Chairman in Kansas.

A briefing on the SALT talks was held at the White House for a selected group of nine veteran organizations. The reaction was positive and the American Legion is going to issue a statement from the National Commander in support of the President.

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June 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information is a copy of  
an article from the Sunday, June 18, LOS  
ANGELES TIMES regarding McGovern.

# The L.A. Media Area--Where McGovern Lost

Correlation May Indicate Senator Is Vulnerable on Economics and Welfare

BY ROBERT A. JONES

Times Staff Writer

On a map showing the results of the June 6 presidential primary, the counties voting for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn) cut a wide swath across Southern California.

It indicates that California decidedly did not conform to old political boundaries in the primary won by Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.).

Humphrey country, centered in Los Angeles County, spread south to conservative Orange County but stopped abruptly at equally conservative San Diego County.

It then spread north to Ventura but stopped at Santa Barbara.

At first glance, the map confused McGovern aides here, largely because it contradicted results in other state areas. But then someone noticed that the area of loss coincides with what is called the "L.A. media area."

## Greater Vulnerability Seen

The discovery has worried the McGovern people considerably, for it seems to indicate that the South Dakota senator is far more vulnerable to attacks on his economic and welfare policies than they had believed possible.

"As soon as you get outside the L.A. media area, the vote goes back consistently for us," said Pat Caddell, McGovern's principal pollster.

The critical difference between Los Angeles and other areas, they say, is the profusion of newspapers and television stations in the Los Angeles basin which "saturated" the final days of the campaign with charges by Humphrey that McGovern's aerospace cuts would cost thousands of jobs and that his welfare program would be enormously expensive.

Campaign coverage in other areas of the state was not nearly so detailed, nor were there so many overlapping boundaries of communications media that often produced repetition in the Los Angeles area.

## TV Spots in Last Week

In addition, the Humphrey campaign could not afford to buy heavy television advertising in most areas of the state. But in Los Angeles there was a series of pointed, critical television spots that ran often in the last week.

Miles Rubin, McGovern's Southern California finance chairman, said:

"There was a conscious decision not to counterattack (to the Humphrey charges). I believe the people read that as a 'no response' from the McGovern camp, and it hurt us. I don't think we would make the same decision in the fall."

However, the success of the Humphrey attack in this area has also raised fears over the validity of the McGovern positions.

One McGovern strategist said:

"Look at it this way. We won in nearly every section of the state, but then we had almost no organized opposition.

"In Los Angeles, the one place where the media could offset some of our own organization by publicizing

Please Turn to Section B, Page 4

## The L.A. Media Area— Where McGovern Lost

Continued from First Page

ing Humphrey's attacks we were hurt badly. And we were hurt by an attack on the issues, which is supposed to be our strong point."

A precinct survey in blue-collar areas of south Los Angeles shows that the voting almost invariably went for Humphrey. In a few precincts, such as Huntington Park 26, the margin was more than 2 to 1. In the aerospace areas of Burbank, it sometimes reached 3 to 1.

In a series of interviews with aerospace workers in the Burbank area, McGovern's proposed aerospace cuts and his welfare program were almost invariably cited by those voting for Humphrey.

Surprisingly, there was also resentment voiced of McGovern's welfare plan—which would give \$1,000 a year to each member of a family—in a Chicano area of East Los Angeles.

### Opposes Giveaways

Mrs. Ofelia Gonzalez, who voted for Humphrey, explained why.

"Anyone who promises too much is no good. He promises \$1,000 for everyone. Does he take us for suckers? We don't like giveaways."

Mrs. Gonzalez said that if it came down to a vote between McGovern and Mr. Nixon, she would vote for Mr. Nixon.

Although McGovern won heavily among Chicano voters in the San Joaquin Valley, the vote in Los Angeles appeared evenly divided. Similarly, a check of six black precincts produced an even split.

### Fairfax District Vote

Some dissatisfaction with the McGovern policies spread into such traditionally liberal areas as the Fairfax district. The Fairfax district, largely Jewish, supported Edmund G. Brown against Ronald Reagan for governor, John V. Tunney against George Murphy for senator and Tom Bradley against Sam Yorty for Mayor, all by overwhelming margins.

In the June 6 election, one area of Fairfax voted for Vincent Bugliosi over Joseph Busch in the district attorney's race, and Proposition 9, the Environment Initiative, received 107 "yes" votes to only 84 "no" votes.

### Rejects Handouts

But McGovern was frounced, with 76 votes to 167 for Humphrey.

"I liked the way McGovern conducted his campaign—like a gentleman—but I feel that money shouldn't simply be handed out to people," said Mrs. Sam Gottlieb.

"It's better for a man to be working and have a job. Humphrey acted disgracefully in the campaign. He tried to smear McGovern, but I overlooked it because it would benefit the

country more to have a sensible welfare program."

With the exception of Southern California, a Times survey of voting patterns throughout the state has shown that McGovern emerged from the California primary with a broad constituency that includes the young and affluent suburbanites as well as blacks, Chicanos, central city voters, and working people.

In previous primaries held in Ohio and Pennsylvania, McGovern's strength was concentrated among upper-middle-class voters and strong liberals within the Democratic Party.

His support among blue-collar workers, minorities, and low-income voters was minimal, often losing to Humphrey by over 25 percentage points in those areas.

However, McGovern's appeal on June 6 came largely at the expense of Humphrey's traditional constituency, cutting deeply into his support among working people and minorities.

### San Diego, San Joaquin

The most surprising victories for the South Dakota senator came in San Diego and in the San Joaquin Valley.

In Fresno County, for example, McGovern outpolled Humphrey by almost 2 to 1, a margin substantially higher than the statewide average.

"The central (San Joaquin) valley was prime Humphrey territory," said William Lockyer, McGovern's Northern California campaign manager. "There's a great number of Chicanos and a conservative white population, and he should have capitalized on a natural advantage, but he didn't, or couldn't."

A Humphrey organization never felled in the central valley, leaving it open to one of McGovern's most able campaigners, Gene Pokorny.

### 75%-80% Contacted

Although Pokorny started late, the McGovern people estimate that they contacted between 75% and 80% of the Democrats in Fresno County by June 6.

The Humphrey forces did little or no canvassing.

The result was that McGovern won in almost all segments of the Fresno community.

The Humphrey people believe the Wallace vote hurt them considerably in Fresno, as it did in San Diego, where Wallace received almost 12% of the vote county-wide.

The McGovern victory in San Diego, which like Fresno appeared to be Humphrey territory, was almost twice as large as the statewide average of 5.5%, and the Humphrey people claim that the race would have been a close one without the Wallace write-in.

The McGovern victory in San Diego, as it was in

Please Turn to Pg. 5, Col. 1

# COUNTIES M'GOVERN LOST

Continued from 4th Page  
Fresno, was aided by a thorough canvassing effort and by the presence of a large youth vote from several colleges and universities in the area.

Meanwhile, studies of college precincts in San Diego, Los Angeles, and Sacramento counties have shown that young voters attending institutions of higher education may be forming the first bloc vote since the demise of the "Solid South" after World War II.

## Exceeding 90%

Student precincts consistently voted for McGovern at levels exceeding 90%. At UC San Diego, one precinct comprised almost entirely of students voted 309 to 11 for McGovern, or more than 96%. Two precincts near UCLA voted 322 to 12 for McGovern.

A Times survey of more than 300 college students and high school seniors throughout California also indicated overwhelming strength for McGovern, with very little support going to candidates further to the right or to the left of McGovern.

Rep. Shirley Chisholm consistently received less than 2% of the youth poll.

"There's no question but that students helped us more here than in any other state," Lockyer said. "You see us winning in conservative counties like San Diego and Santa Barbara, and there can be only two answers: organization and students."

Lockyer said the almost total support of the large student population in Santa Barbara County helped explain the McGovern vic-

tory in that conservative county. In Ventura County, which is also conservative but does not have a large number of students, McGovern lost.

However, the heavy turnout of student voters that McGovern organizers had hoped for did not materialize. In most student precincts the turnout was slightly lower than that in middle neighborhoods but slightly higher than that in poverty and minority areas.

Nonetheless, the percentage of college students among all young people is about 45% in California, or 15% higher than for the country as a whole. And many McGovern aides now see a direct correlation throughout the state between a large student population, a thorough canvassing effort that feeds off the students, and eventual victory.

## Noncollege Youth

There also are indications that McGovern carried a larger share of the noncollege youth than was previously supposed.

A New York Times survey by Daniel Yankelovich found that about three-fourths of all first-time voters, age 18-24, voted for McGovern.

If the "bloc" voting of college students is removed from the Yankelovich sample, the McGovern vote among the remaining, noncollege youth still approaches 50%.

One of the most impressive results of the McGovern organization was its ability to spread the McGovern appeal.

In San Diego, McGovern carried precincts in areas such as Imperial Beach, comprised mainly of military families and a cro-

space workers; and in Mira Mesa, a new area of blue-collar workers.

With a few exceptions, the minority neighborhoods of San Francisco voted heavily for McGovern, with one Chicano district voting 99 to 35 and a Chinatown precinct going 152 to 31 for McGovern.

In Alameda County, across from San Francisco and containing a large percentage of working families and minorities, McGovern ran up one of his highest margins in the state with more than 60% of the vote.

## Elderly Vote

The only segment that consistently supported Humphrey outside of Los Angeles was found among older voters, aged 60 and above.

To the McGovern people, the senator's success in other areas of the state was a foregone conclusion, while the failure in Los Angeles was not. McGovern strategists have now begun a "reassessment" of the policies that appear to have contributed to the loss.

However, other McGovern aides said it is doubtful that strong policy changes will come out of the review being conducted in Washington.

"McGovern can't make huge changes in his policies," said Lockyer.

"He's regarded as an honest, gutsy guy, and if he substantially changes his policies, he'd lose that image.

"But I think you'll see some 'clarifications' and hopefully they'll be enough to prevent another Southern California."

# \*1972 DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RESULTS

\*Data shown represents only votes cast for Humphrey and McGovern.

Counties in which Humphrey received majority vote.

51% to 58%

COUNTY TOTAL VOTE

① Inyo	1,959
② Kern	40,153
③ Lake	4,107
④ Los Angeles	1,026,158
⑤ Orange	153,609
⑥ San Bernardino	77,930
⑦ Solano	24,539
⑧ Ventura	44,726

Counties in which McGovern received majority vote.

50% to 59%

COUNTY TOTAL VOTE

① Amador	2,624
② Butte	15,402
③ Calaveras	2,408
④ Colusa	1,794
⑤ Contra Costa	90,848
⑥ Del Norte	1,903
⑦ El Dorado	6,469
⑧ Glenn	2,651
⑨ Imperial	6,777
⑩ Mariposa	1,354
⑪ Merced	13,013
⑫ Monterey	22,414
⑬ Napa	13,268
⑭ Placer	13,986
⑮ Riverside	58,689
⑯ Sacramento	110,731
⑰ San Benito	2,417
⑱ San Diego	164,998
⑲ San Joaquin	38,362
⑳ San Luis Obispo	16,237
㉑ San Mateo	90,538
㉒ Shasta	14,137
㉓ Sutter	5,088
㉔ Tehama	4,669
㉕ Trinity	1,483
㉖ Tulare	19,450
㉗ Tuolumne	4,311
㉘ Yuba	4,464

60% to 69%

COUNTY TOTAL VOTE

① Alameda	138,894
② Fresno	64,045
③ Humboldt	16,663
④ Kings	7,291
⑤ Lassen	3,008
⑥ Madera	5,682
⑦ Mendocino	7,332
⑧ Modoc	1,134
⑨ Mono	769
⑩ Nevada	6,341
⑪ Plumas	2,821
⑫ San Francisco	132,109
⑬ Santa Barbara	38,626
⑭ Santa Clara	156,080
⑮ Santa Cruz	22,635
⑯ Sierra	560
⑰ Siskiyou	6,011
⑱ Sonoma	34,224
⑲ Stanislaus	22,796
㉑ Yolo	17,825

over 70%

COUNTY TOTAL VOTE

① Alpine	96
② Marin	33,965

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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①

June 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

✓cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVANCE

Counselor Donald Rumsfeld was the surrogate present at the grand opening of the Downstate Committee for the Re-election of the President headquarters in Springfield, Illinois. Actor Jock Mahoney and actress Terry Moore also participated in the full-day program, which had an enthusiastic crowd of three hundred present.

Secretary Volpe was the surrogate present at the Orange County Team '72 rally in Anaheim, California. With an enthusiastic crowd of approximately eleven hundred, this was an all-day youth oriented event and also the principal California Committee activity scheduled prior to the California primary.

Two additions were made to the Tour Office staff during the past week. Mr. William E. Moeller, formerly an Assistant Vice President and Commercial Banker with the First National City Bank in New York City, is the Tour Office Manager and is responsible to Mr. Jon A. Foust. Also, Mr. A. Thomas Carroccio has joined the Tour Office as Assistant Tour Desk Manager, reporting to Mr. Ed Cowling, Tour Desk Manager. Mr. Carroccio was formerly a trial attorney with the F.C.C.

ADVERTISING

A report on McGovern on the issues was prepared and a competitive check on advertising in California primary was conducted. Campaign slogans were presented to the Strategy Group as well as developing a Black American brochure.

AGRICULTURE

Madson visited Farm Families for the President chairmen in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. The Michigan operation is moving very well -- perhaps the best of any state in the U. S. They turned out 600 people to meet with Secretary Butz a couple of weeks ago, and have a state committee, most of their county chairmen, and even some township chairmen already named. The Illinois Farm Families operation is also developing quite rapidly.

By the end of this week, Madson will have visited personally -- at the farm -- with nearly every state agricultural chairman that we have named thus far (about half the states). This should give each of these states a big boost in their organizational endeavors.

Foltz spent considerable time in developing plans for our June luncheons with farm state senators, and also met with the Nixon chairman and a number of agricultural leaders of Virginia in order to get their agricultural campaign underway.

The drive by a number of grain co-ops to send petitions to the President asking for an immediate increase in price levels apparently has terminated. They claim to have obtained about 280,000 signatures (their goal was 500,000), but they sent only a statement to Secretary Butz, who then responded -- courteously but not affirmatively. Coming during the Moscow visit, this exchange of correspondence fortunately did not get much press attention. And we've thus far kept the President out of the line of fire. The Democrats may, however, use this incident later in the campaign as evidence of farmer dissatisfaction with the Nixon Administration.

#### CITIZENS

We continued to develop a plan of action for the Citizens Groups.

Myron Milder, of Omaha, Nebraska, agreed to serve as our third Field Director and will be on-board about June 6th. This appointment was checked out with Clayton Yeutter who agreed with our choice. He will serve as a volunteer without compensation, working with states near his home area.

The state chairman from Nebraska, George Cook and his executive director, Dick Day, came in to discuss citizens activities in their state. Neil McCaleb of Oklahoma came in to discuss Indian affairs.

#### ELDERLY

The major effort during the past week was re-working our campaign to get ready for Phase Two -- implementation of our detailed program. This was also done to allow incorporation of our redefined objectives into the compendium being sent to all Nixon state chairmen.

Ruth Groom left our staff and was replaced by Bob Sykes (formerly of the RNC Ballot Security Division and Legislative Coordinator of the American Association of Retired Persons). Bob will have national responsibility for the conduct of our Older Americans Forums.

Mills was in California all week working on the primary effort.

Chris Todd visited Delaware and continued work on the National Advisory Committee. We have acceptances from most of them and are almost ready to send them a formal letter from Mr. Mitchell.

Our national press/media plan was discussed by our strategy group and approved with only minor modification.

Time was also devoted to firming up the "National Awareness Campaign" called for by the White House Conference on Aging which will hopefully be conducted by HEW.

LAWYERS

We are continuing our efforts to appoint Lawyers Committee chairmen in each state. In the ten states in which Nixon state chairmen have made recommendations for Lawyers Committee chairmen, we have approved the recommendations and asked the Nixon state chairmen to appoint the Lawyers Committee chairmen. We continue to urge the other thirty-two Nixon state chairmen for their recommendations.

Upon appointment, each state Lawyers Committee chairman receives a congratulatory letter from Mr. Mitchell, a welcoming letter from the three co-chairmen of the Lawyers Committee and a packet of materials from the executive director which includes an information memorandum, a copy of the state guidelines including the chronology of proposed state Lawyers Committee activities, and an information sheet which is to be completed and returned. In addition, the newly-appointed lawyers chairman is asked to telephone the executive director at his earliest convenience, in order to review the initial materials and discuss the basic concept of the Lawyers Committee.

We are continuing to review and implement the Basic Plan which was submitted to Mr. Malek last week.

A first draft of the manual for Lawyers Committee chairmen has been prepared and is being reviewed.

We reviewed with Mrs. Brataas a proposed telephone campaign which would be implemented by each state Lawyers Committee. We have obtained volunteer assistance in the preparation of materials which will be used in connection with the campaigns. A number of concepts are under consideration and it is hoped that the telephone campaign program will be finalized on or before July 1.

A conference with Mr. Numm resulted in the formulation of plans for a cooperative fund raising effort between the state Lawyers Committees and the state Finance Committees.

We submitted on May 31 our proposal for Lawyers Committee activities at the convention. Six issues and suggested categories of representatives were proposed for testimony before the platform committee. We set forth a proposal for direct contact with each lawyer delegate prior to and at the convention, including the identification of the hotel, room number, telephone number, and seating arrangements on the floor. At the convention, we propose to conduct during off-hours a series of meetings for all lawyer delegates. At the meetings, we will familiarize the delegates with the Lawyers Committee plans and we will urge their active participation in Lawyers Committee activities. These meetings will follow the already arranged invitation of Lawyers Committee chairmen to each delegate. At least two news articles describing the Lawyers Committee and its activities will be prepared for publication in The Communicator.

Additional promotional activities and publicity oriented programs are under consideration.

PR/MEDIA

The press section continued to concentrate last week on response to the President's Russian trip from both members of Congress and our surrogates. We were able to obtain comments for our audio service, for example, from 16 separate members of the Congress and they were fed to the networks, UPI audio and the regional audio networks.

Our surrogate radiation centered primarily around Secretaries Volpe and Richardson. Volpe was given a very active media day in Los Angeles which included television, a news conference and a visit with the Editorial Board of the Los Angeles Times. We also alerted radio and television stations to Secretary Richardson's University of Connecticut commencement address. Counsellor Rumsfeld opened the Chicago headquarters and got television coverage. At the suggestion of our Illinois press director, he walked through the press section of the Capitol building and was interviewed by television and radio reporters from most principal Illinois outlets.

We moved quickly to get into perspective the ad in the New York Times which requested the impeachment of the President. Mr. Mitchell's telegram to Richard Siemers, the union leader who balked at printing the controversial ad, received very substantial coverage both on the wires and in the New York Times itself. We also activated our letters to the editor apparatus on this issue.

Although there was no particular consistent tie in, a number of press releases and announcements were made by this section during the week. These included such diverse announcements as the Black Dinner, the South Carolina Committee, the Georgia Committee, the Virginia Youth Chairman, the Washington State Chairman, announcements of staff positions and home town press follow-ups and inserts on SALT for Secretary Butz and Counsellors Finch and Rumsfeld.

A brief interview with Mr. Mitchell was conducted by public television for use in a special feature to be aired this month on the campaign for the re-election of the President.

The press section is preparing a special edition of Monday on the President's Russian trip for distribution on Wednesday.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

The tabulation and analysis of the California pre-primary survey was completed. The third mailing and telephone follow-up mailing were also completed. The draft of individual state plans was revised and submitted for inclusion in the state master plans.

We met with Tony Rodriguez, Lou Churchville and Hector Santa-Anna (from OEO) to discuss Phil Sanchez' speech to the LULAC Convention. It was tentatively

agreed that Sanchez would challenge LULAC to take on a leadership role in the field of education.

A memo was submitted to Stan Anderson outlining proposals for Spanish-speaking participation at the Miami Convention.

A meeting with Adam Sanchez Reyes, Editor of El Mirador, New York City newspaper, was held to discuss the Spanish-speaking press.

We held several meetings with Father Happy to discuss his proposal to utilize migrant workers in reforestation projects. We are following up with the Agriculture and Interior Departments on possible implementation.

The second California survey was conducted on June 7-9. Frank Almaguer was in Los Angeles to coordinate this effort.

Issue Book, outlining speech topics and information, will be completed for submission to Spanish-speaking surrogates in the near future.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We have prepared a proposed schedule of campaign activities by those individuals who have been designated to serve as surrogate candidates on behalf of the President. The surrogate candidates have been scheduled to appear in major media centers in the fifteen key states.

In preparing the attack plan, the following factors were taken into consideration: (a) the surrogate's constituency and political appeal, (b) the surrogate's native geographical area, and (c) the surrogate's existing schedule and other responsibilities, i.e. Congressman's need to attend his or her own re-election effort, (d) the surrogate's known limited availability, and (e) the surrogate's office responsibilities.

The appearances were scheduled in a state according to its rank in the list of key states, the geographical size of the state, the number of media markets in the state, as identified by Van Shumway, and the number of electoral votes.

Dave Parker will coordinate First Family events with the attack plan.

We have met with Maurice Stans and all of the State Finance Chairmen for the purpose of discussing fund-raising events. Following this meeting, we met separately with several of the State Chairmen to discuss scheduling speakers for fund-raising events prior to the Convention.

TRANSIENT

During the past week, two Special Ballot Field Representatives were selected to begin work on June 19. They will be responsible for managing the business contact and state special ballot organizational effort in their respective areas. Organizational development for the overseas absentee ballot effort continues with arrangements completed for a committee in Israel and plans formulated for continuing media coverage of the Committee's overseas operation.

The staff completed preparation of recommended key counties in which the special ballot effort will be concentrated. Selection of these counties is based on the percentage contribution to the President's 1968 statewide vote in each state. These recommendations will be reviewed with political coordinators next week and will be revised as necessary.

Last week's resignation of the RNC's Special Ballot Director will require additional work on our part since a number of research projects which were to be performed by the RNC staff will be affected. Mr. Sayre's resignation is not expected to be a major set back but will create the necessity to readjust several aspects of the special ballot program relating to volunteers.

The Special Ballot Program Plan has been completed and will be reviewed by Mr. Mitchell during the coming week.

VETERANS

During the past week, we had several meetings regarding the organization of the state veteran committees. We met with Dick Richards and Tom Reed, fieldmen for the Committee, to discuss the selection of veterans directors for the states of Washington and Oregon. Doyle Dodge, Executive Director of the Michigan Nixon Committee, met with us to discuss the veterans organization in his state, including the selection of a veterans chairman and the coordination of veterans activities with the overall state campaign.

The first field meeting was held in Maryland on Thursday, June 1. Jim Smith met with John Sloan, Maryland Veterans Chairman, representatives from the Maryland Committee for the Re-election of the President and key veterans in the state. The overall veterans campaign and its organization in the state of Maryland was discussed.

Arrangements were made for the first field trip which began on Monday, June 5. Jim Smith will be travelling to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. He will be meeting with the state Nixon Committee people, the appointed veterans chairmen and other key veterans leaders to discuss state organization and conduct training sessions. In Ohio and Missouri, Jim will work with the Nixon Chairmen to complete selection of the veterans directors.

We continued work on the manual for the state veterans chairmen. This manual will provide the chairmen with guidelines for setting up their state organiza-

tions. The first draft will be used in the field next week by Jim Smith. As a result of the meetings with the Nixon state people and the veterans directors, necessary revisions will be made on the manual. Additional material on specific activity suggestions are being developed for inclusion in the manual.

A meeting was held with Ann Dore and Bill Rhatican to discuss the development of a PR plan for the veterans campaign.

Gwen Galbraith has joined our staff as a full-time volunteer. She is in charge of scheduling the surrogate speakers for the veterans group.

Orlando Bisbano has been named Veterans Chairman for Rhode Island.

#### VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We have one new chairman for Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) since our last report, bringing the total number of chairmen to 29. He is John N. Dalton in Virginia.

Four retired FBI men have been retained as consultants to work in the field in key areas.

#### YOUTH

Because of the scheduling by the youth speakers bureau, Wallace Henley dedicated a Boys Club at Carlsbad, New Mexico, on May 22 and also spoke at a large Baptist Congregation in Texas. Lee Hueber spoke to the Michigan J.C. convention as well as 2,000 hospital patients on May 22. Secretary Romney will be giving the commencement address at Bowling Green University on June 10, while Ed Blecksmith will speak to the Iowa DeMolay Convention on June 17.

The youth speakers bureau has scheduled six Boys State Conventions. Dana Mead will speak to the Illinois Boys State (1,300 people) on June 20. Dolf Droge will be at the Maryland Boys state (350 people) on the morning of June 21. The North Carolina Boys State, which anticipates 500, on June 16 will hear Peter Michel. Bob Kasten will speak to the Wisconsin Boys State on June 26 (300 are expected).

Committee  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

~~bcc:~~ Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVANCE

The tour office advanced Governor Dunn for his appearance as the principal speaker at the District of Columbia Committee for the Re-election of the President Fund-Raising Dinner on June 14. The Governor delivered a rousing campaign speech for the President to an audience of 150 Republicans present for this dinner dance. The Governor and his staff were pleased with the arrangements made by and the assistance given by the tour office.

On Thursday, June 15, Senator Brock was the feature speaker at the Indiana Republican State Central Committee Fund-Raising Dinner. The dinner, which drew a crowd of over 2,000 Indiana Republicans, was held in the New Indianapolis Convention Center. Senator Brock's speech was the finale of a program devoted to the introduction of candidates for state and local offices in Indiana. From all reports, Senator Brock's speech on the emerging Republican majority was extremely well received.

Kathy Garver, a Hollywood actress and a celebrity committed to the President, also spoke at the dinner. She reviewed the Administration's record and lauded the President. She was also well received. An advancement on the scene arranged for Kathy Garver to appear on several "talk shows."

Mr. Edward Nixon was the feature banquet speaker June 16, at the Idaho GOP State Convention in Boise. The tour office advanced Mr. Nixon, who spoke to a group of 800 and received standing ovations prior to and after his speech. A local NBC affiliate carried 50 seconds of Mr. Nixon's speech on the late coverage. The local CBS affiliate also carried a 50 second story of the speech and the convention.

On June 17, Mr. Edward Nixon, at the request of the White House, received the 1972 Special Victory Award on behalf of the President at the Victory Awards Dinner sponsored by the Sportsmen Club of the City of Hope, in Las Vegas, Nevada. The award was presented because of the President's interest in athletes and the physical fitness of the country. Mr. Roger Staubach, Mr. Marty Liqueri and Mr. Joe Frazier, three of the athletes committed to the President, also received awards. Several other nationally known athletes who are not committed to the President were also award winners. We will try to use Mr. Edward Nixon's presence at the dinner as a vehicle for signing up sports personalities such as Mr. Roy Campanella and Mr. Willie Shoemaker. The banquet made front page news in the Sunday Las Vegas Sun with headlines that read "President Honored in Las Vegas." A later edition of this paper included a picture of Mr. Nixon receiving the award on behalf of the President.

The now retired New York Giants football player, Andy Robustelli, a member of the President's Council on Physical Fitness, spoke to an audience of 250 people at the Physical Fitness Awards Dinner on June 14, 1972, here in Washington.

The tour office telephone advanced six events during the past week. Concurrently the tour office worked with state Re-election Committees to build press activities and secondary events into schedules of the surrogates who were telephone advanced. We also arranged for comedian Edgar Bergen to perform at the Missouri State Republican Finance Committee fund-raising dinner on June 26, at which the Vice President is the principal speaker.

Four of the tour office's advanceman trainees were on the road last week and performed quite satisfactorily. During the time period from June 14 through June 26, fourteen of the tour office trainees will have been on the road. This is a greater number of trainees than have been out in any similar time period. The tour office has identified a total of 48 advanceman trainees and has a continuing interviewing program to obtain additional trainees.

#### AGRICULTURE

Yeutter, Foltz and Madson, accompanied by Mr. Mitchell, lunched with a group of 13 farm state Senators who are up for re-election this fall. The major subject for discussion was our 1972 farm campaign, and how it might relate to and be coordinated with their own campaigns.

Yeutter spoke to an overflow crowd of Alpha Zeta (an agricultural scholastic honorary) alumni at USDA on Thursday.

Richard Neubauer of Colorado was employed to support Gary Madson as a fieldman effective July 1. Neubauer will continue to live in Colorado and will work primarily with Farm Families for the President chairmen in the nonkey states. Madson will cover the chairmen in the key states.

Yeutter met in Chicago with the Farm Bureau's regional fieldmen, a group of about eight men who blanket the country for that organization. He was accompanied by Roger Fleming, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Wheat harvest is on, and yields are quite good. USDA now estimates that the winter wheat crop will be 2% larger than last year. The spring wheat crop will be smaller than in 1971, and the total for all wheat slightly smaller. But the reduction is not as great as we'd like. The relatively low price levels will lead to some political flak from the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas. And it will also lead to plans for higher price supports, establishment of a strategic reserve, large export subsidies, etc. in the Democratic platform.

Meat prices continue to increase. There just are not enough cattle coming to market now to meet the demand, and packers are bidding high for this limited supply. This will result in a very delicate political issue during the next few weeks.

Corn prices dropped several cents on the futures market, reflecting (1) good rains in the Midwest, and (2) uncertainty about a grain sale to Russia this year. The situation merits no action at the moment, but will have to be watched carefully.

#### BLACKS

Our activities for this report period have centered on basically two areas: (1) dinner campaign wrap-up, and (2) continual development of campaign structure and process. We acknowledged the contribution of each participant in the June 10 fund raising dinner. A meeting with Bob Brown and officers of the dinner committee finalized the report to the Committee.

Two people have tentatively been designated to fill field representative positions. Presently, clearance procedures are being conducted.

The National Black Steering Committee has been finalized, including a check with Nixon state chairmen and state political coordinators. We continue development of a voter registration plan having specifically assigned staff members for the Joliet, Illinois, registration blitz. The Black Americans brochure was revised. Statistics were updated and it was agreed with Bill Novelli to await his plan for regular distribution of the newsletter and brochure. A total of 95,000 additional copies of the brochures are due by June 30. We revised our surrogate list and plan for submission to Fred Malek.

#### BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We are preparing for the training meetings for city chairmen which commence July 17. At the request of Michigan and Wyoming we will make a presentation to their city chairmen, all of whom are in place, within the next two weeks to maintain the momentum prior to our regular training meetings.

The kits for the city people will be ready by the time of our meetings in July. The November Group has been most helpful in getting us prepared.

Organization continues. We have over 150 cities presently in place with a chairman, and in the process of developing its Advisory Council. The way things are going, we anticipate a final count of 300-350 cities, areas, congressional districts or regions organized. Weekly bulletins are being sent to all who are working with us. The emphasis is on registration, identification and getting out the vote.

#### CITIZENS

This past week, each of the field directors began contacting national organizers

for the various citizens groups. Meetings for these groups will be scheduled over the next three weeks with the objective that all state committee chairmen be selected prior to the National Convention. One other assistant field director has been hired. His name is Forrest Meade, who was referred to us by John Clarke.

Calls were received from Watson Rogers, President Emeritus of the National Food Brokers Association who wants to help set up a committee directed toward this group; Harry Mizuno and Dr. Chen Lee in regards to Asian-American Group and Ken Cole, regarding setting up a Sportsmen Group. A briefing was arranged between our field directors and all of the state coordinators. André LeTendre went to Chicago to help arrange for volunteers for the Illinois registration drive.

#### ELDERLY

Dan Todd worked on the "national awareness campaign" and the Speakers Kit, in addition to a series of meetings with Department and White House personnel concerning the Administration's program, White House Conference on Aging follow-up and the legislative action pending on the Hill. The Speakers Kit should be finished this week and a go-no-go decision should also be made on the awareness effort. Also, the revised Campaign Plan was finished and sent to all state OA chairmen with FYI copies to all Nixon chairmen.

Sykes finalized the guidelines for the Forums which will go out this week to all OA chairmen with copies to the Nixon chairmen. He also attended the AARP Convention to renew his contacts and lay the groundwork for their support of and participation in the Forum program.

Mills worked on a detailed campaign plan for Illinois, completed his follow-up in the secondary western states and went to California to break in that state's new staff man and help set up the registration effort there.

Chris Todd met with Chuck Lanklin, Director of Special Groups for Ohio, to lay the groundwork for an OA campaign in the state. Dan and Chris Todd and Jim Mills met with E. B. "Breezy" Wynn of Tennessee to go over his national campaign plan for senior citizens.

Chris Todd also covered the national meeting of the American Association of Retired Persons in Washington and spoke to a Republican Leadership Conference in New Jersey. She also worked up a letter for County OA Chairmen and worked with the eastern states on the registration drive.

#### ETHNIC

A meeting was held with Jack Burgess of the RNC to discuss ethnic activities at the convention.

Wirth was contacted by Eva Matuszewski, Michigan Ethnic Coordinator, to discuss an ethnic campaign for Michigan. She is planning to visit Washington this week during which time we will meet to discuss this matter further.

#### LAWYERS

During the past week, we have appointed chairmen in four additional states bring the total to twenty.

The second draft of a telephone campaign specifically for lawyers has been developed and is presently being evaluated. The campaign was designed to reach every lawyer in every state by telephone. The present plan contemplates that lawyer's wives will serve as volunteers in conducting the campaign.

The objectives of the campaign have been expanded to include the following:

- a) To identify lawyers who support the President and to insure that they vote. The telephone campaign is the critical factor in identifying lawyers who support the President. In October the lawyers committee chairman will mail to every lawyer who has been identified as a supporter of the President, a letter urging the lawyer to vote at his local polling place on November 7, if he will be at home, or to secure a special absentee ballot from the specific local election official in his area, if he will not be able to go to the polls.
- b) To secure volunteer assistance and financial support. The committee telephone campaign will be the most important source of volunteers for our activities, ballot security and special events; and will be an important source of volunteers for general state wide activities including general telephone campaigns and canvassing. Also, the telephone campaign will identify sources of fund raising as required by the state.
- c) To appeal to the undecided lawyer-voter by an offer of information which may favorably influence his vote. As the telephone campaigners identify undecided voters they will distribute issue materials.

#### PR/MEDIA

During the past week the press section has continued to follow the dictum of our new strategy and bear away from concentration on any specific Democratic candidate while attempting to encourage Republicans to register.

The latest of the Re-Electors, produced last week but actually distributed on Tuesday of this week, focused on the new registration drive and we are planning a special edition of Monday that will be of assistance in this drive.

In other areas we continued to assist the special interest groups in their efforts. For example, press releases were prepared for the National Hispanic Finance Committee and for the Black Vote Division. The latter included mailing a photograph of Floyd McKissick at the Black Dinner to black newspapers around the nation.

Two activities having to do with youth were of interest. The national Nixonette chairman was placed on a radio talk show in Miami and all reports of her appearance were favorable. Ambassador George Bush and Mrs. Rita Hauser participated in Glamour Magazine's special symposium in New York involving questions and answers from ten selected college girls from around the nation. Although we have not seen their story -- which will not appear until later in the fall -- our advance information is positive.

Surrogate activity was minimal. We worked with Secretary Richardson on his speech to the Midwest Pharmaceutical Club, arranging a press conference, an editorial board meeting with the Times Picayune, and a television taping.

The audio division fed an average of four actualities per day. These included Peter Flanigan on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union; President Echeverria's greeting to the President upon his arrival; statements by a variety of senators supporting our defense posture and the SALT agreement; and a statement by Rep. Ford charging that revenue sharing was being held up by the Democrats.

#### SPANISH-SPEAKING

The California primary test was completed and the results will be available next week.

Having completed review on the Speakers Bureau/Surrogate Program, the results unfortunately revealed very little recognition of surrogates exist among Spanish-speaking communities.

Frank Almaguer traveled to California to meet with Lyn Nofziger and Manny Quevedo to discuss various aspects of the California campaign. He also visited the New Mexico campaign headquarters where he met with Ed Hartman to discuss the Spanish-speaking campaign. At the moment, Hartman feels that the Spanish-speaking should not comprise a separate organization in his state because of the large percentage in the population. This decision is subject to review and discussion.

Alex Armendariz traveled to New York City to meet with the November Group and participate in the selection of a Spanish-speaking agency. Tony McDonald was

assisted in developing a plan to publicize the "National Assistance for Veterans" program in the Spanish-speaking communities in Texas and California. Fred Mendoza met with us to develop a project to expand the effectiveness of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking People through a cooperative effort with National Jaycees. Ricardo Lordon, President of Rio de la Plata met with Alex Armendaris, William Marumoto, and Bill Rhatican to discuss Lordon's ideas to assist in the California campaign. In a meeting with us, Armando Gonzalez reviewed approaches to use in meeting with Jose Angel Gutierrez, Leader of La Raza Unida Party in Texas.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

The spokesmen Resources Division's proposed scheduling attack plan for the post-Convention campaign period was submitted to Messrs. Magruder, Marik, Malek, Shumway, Teeter, Parker, Howard and O'Donnell. We requested that they provide us with their written comments by June 20, 1972. The plan will then be submitted to the political coordinators for approval.

The Re-elect the President booth was opened at the Exhibit Center at the National Convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Atlanta, Georgia. The booth, which is extremely popular, was open through Wednesday, June 21. Emphasis is being placed on voter registration and volunteer identification.

Mrs. Constance Stuart, of Mrs. Nixon's staff, met with us to discuss Mrs. Nixon's scheduling during the campaign and the coordination of her schedule with those of the surrogate candidates.

Attention is being given to the positioning of surrogate candidates through the period of the Democrat National Convention in order to respond, if necessary, to attacks by the Democrats in the Administration.

On July 17, 1972, a reception was hosted by Mr. Taft Schreiber in California for Celebrities for the President. The reception was attended by Mrs. Nixon and by Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell.

#### VETERANS

Jim Smith spent Monday to Thursday out in the field. On Monday he met with Warren Morgens, Executive Director of the Missouri Committee at which time he discussed the objectives of the veterans campaign. Jim also met with Bill Moore of the Wisconsin Committee and the Wisconsin veterans chairman to discuss the appointment of district chairmen and setting up the unit organizations for the state. His field trip also included meetings with the Ohio and Michigan state veterans chairmen.

Frank Naylor left Wednesday evening on a four day field trip to Washington,

Oregon, California, Nevada and Colorado. In each state he held planning and training sessions with the veterans' chairman. He also met with the Nixon personnel in Washington.

A veterans committee kickoff meeting is tentatively scheduled for June 30 when Col. Borman, the national veterans chairman, will be coming to Washington along with approximately 20 prominent veterans for the kickoff. It will include press releases, photos and campaign strategy briefings.

A "National Assistance for Veterans" program consisting of two mobile vans will start service on June 21 in Austin, Texas. It is a multi-agency effort headed by the VA. The purpose is to provide counseling for veterans in the areas of major concern to them, i.e., drugs, housing problems, veterans benefits and jobs. We are coordinating with the American Legion to assist on publicity of the Van Program.

Veterans chairmen were named in South Dakota and Pennsylvania.

#### YOUTH

We are assisting in the Illinois drive this weekend. Other drives in the key states are continuing. We will have a staff conference this weekend with more than 20 states represented and registration will be the key topic. All Young Voters Chairmen and directors will be asked to set up drives or supply volunteers for other drives that have been set up.

More than 500 young people have now been trained to be spokesmen. These young people are currently setting up speaking engagements. Their efforts will be concentrated on the smaller local events while we continue to supply key spokesmen for major youth events from Washington.

Our convention plan has been finalized. We have over 1,000 of the 3,000 reservations in and more than \$4,000 has come in. We will need to get the bulk of the money and the reservations in during the next 30 days. All housing, transportation and special events have been planned and secured.

25,000 Young Voters buttons have been produced. These will be used for special events and voter registration drives. 150,000 recruiting brochures have been produced and will be used for registration drives and special distributions. The first YVP newsletter has gone to the printers and is expected to be mailed to our 125,000 YVP members by July 1.

We are now over the 90 mark in mock elections won. We will continue that activity this summer. Our first college recruiter is on the road going from campus to campus in a camper. He has had a high degree of success in recruiting thus far.

A very successful recruiting event was held in Los Angeles last weekend. Not only did we recruit some new celebrities, but we inspired our regular celebrities to do more recruiting.

The Florida Young Voters lead all other state in recruitment with 6,000 YVP members.

#### POLLING AND STRATEGY

The data base is being developed in Connecticut, California, Maryland, New Jersey and Illinois. In Michigan, we are using the Universal list. Texas and Ohio have yet to be contracted but we expect to tie them up within the next two weeks. They are being held back due to lack of financial participation and state organization. Michigan is having its first Voter Identification Program which will be used for registration in Ingham, Kent and Eaton counties and is scheduled to begin on June 24. This is being done in manuscript form with an original and two copies using NCR paper.

Over 25,000 volunteers were generated in the state of California from the Direct Mail Program. This helped force people into the precincts in some counties and significantly added to the esprit de corps of the organization. All of the problems identified have had action taken on them. Compass will not develop mailing lists again for the Committee and Donnelly's management controls are being strenuously reviewed.

Ray Daley began as Traffic Manager in the Direct Mail Department on June 12. All questions about materials, letters and brochures emanating out of the Direct Mail area should be funneled through Ray.

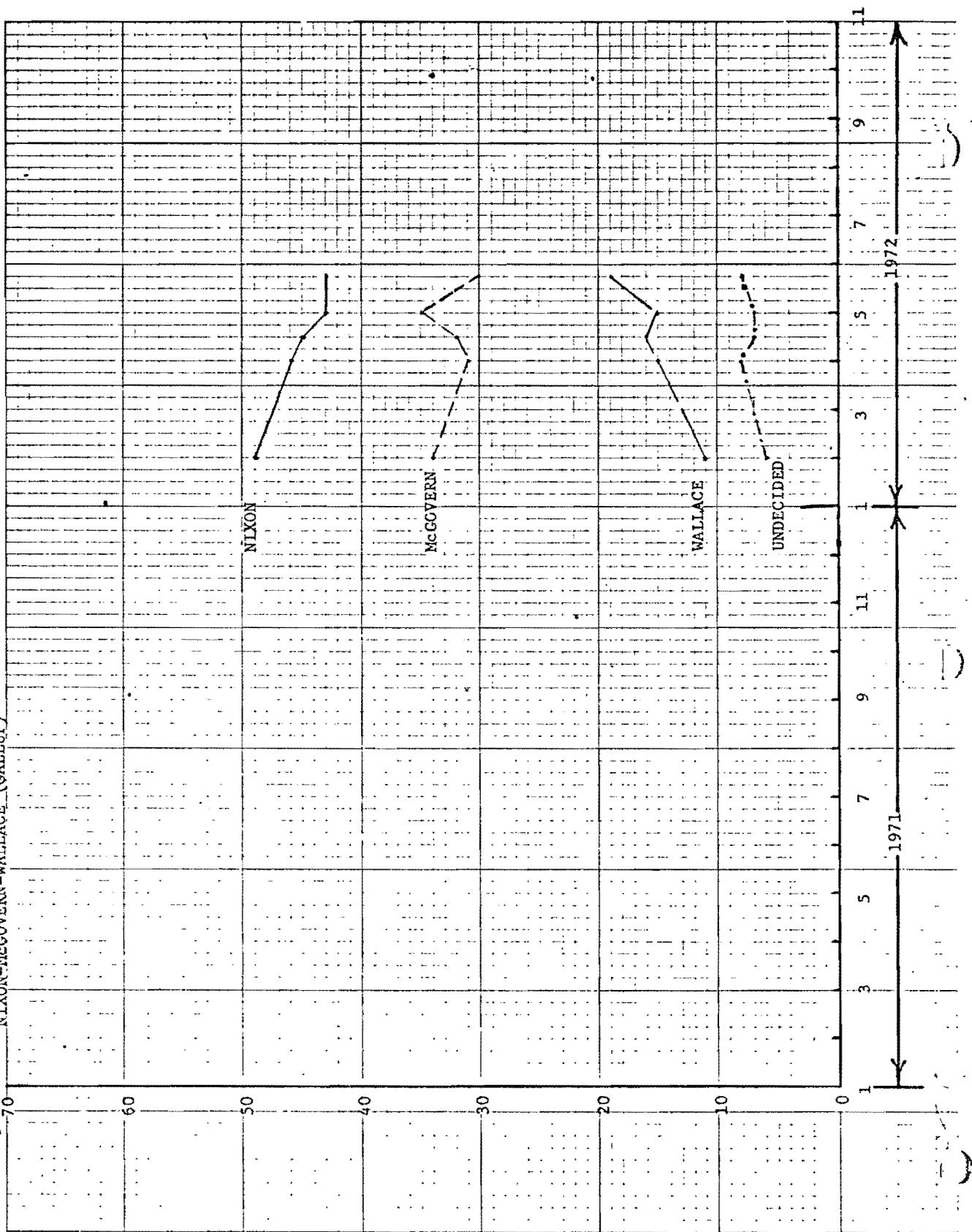
Bob Hatch of the California Re-election Committee met with members of the direct mail, telephone, planning and volunteer staffs to discuss plans for the campaign. General agreement was reached in all areas and Bob will report the substance of the discussions back to Lyn Nofziger in California so that final operating decisions can be made from there.

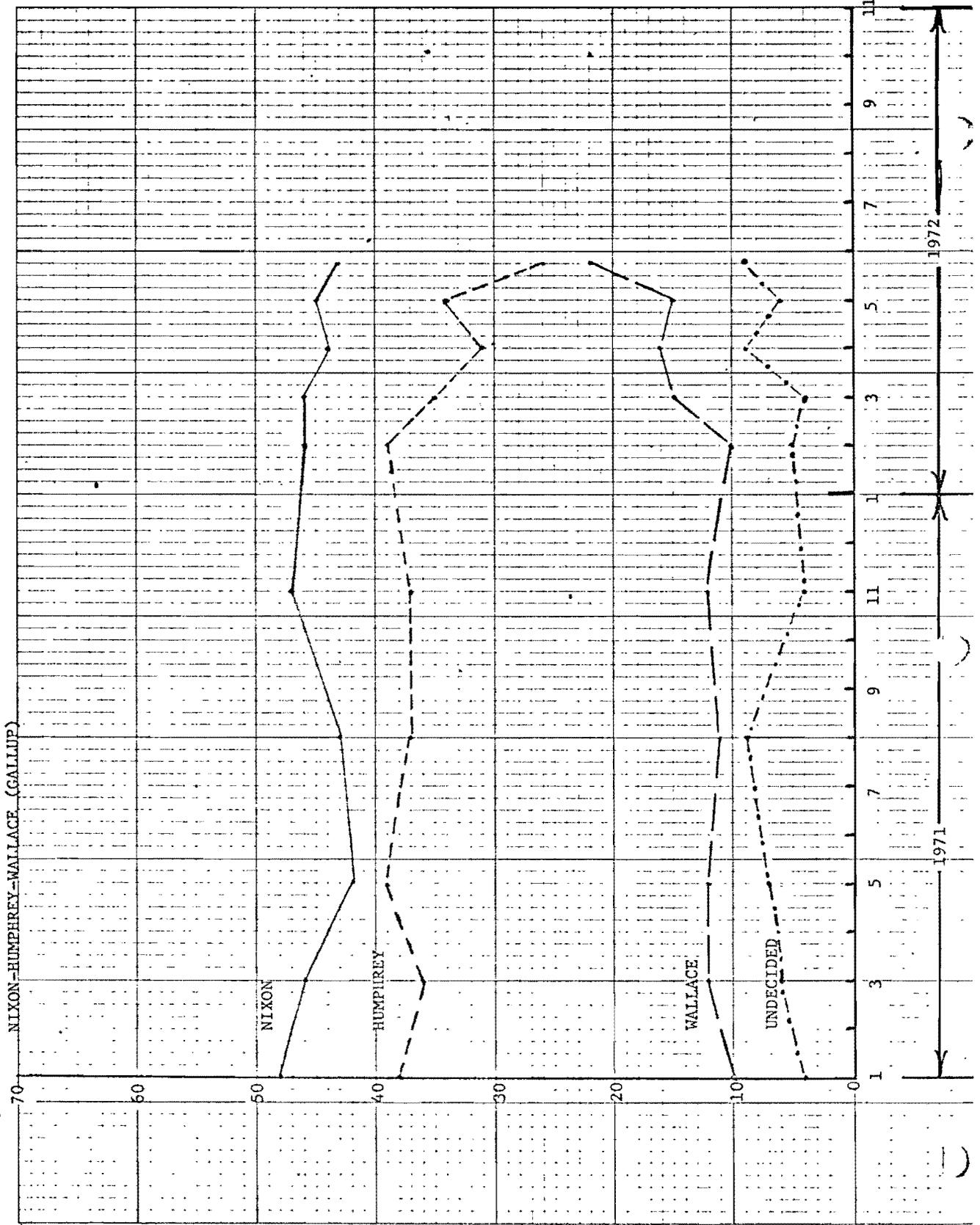
Tentative selection of the telephone center locations for California have been made in consultation with the California Committee. Nancy Brataas has also visited Michigan and Illinois recently as well as having held discussions with the Ohio Re-election Committee in Washington. Specific planning on the telephone program is proceeding in all of those states.

A compendium of all programs being developed at the national level was sent to the state re-election committees to assist them in drawing up plans for the campaigns in each state. This will be followed in the next few weeks by meetings in Washington. It is anticipated that the final decisions planning for the state campaign will be made well before the Republican Convention.

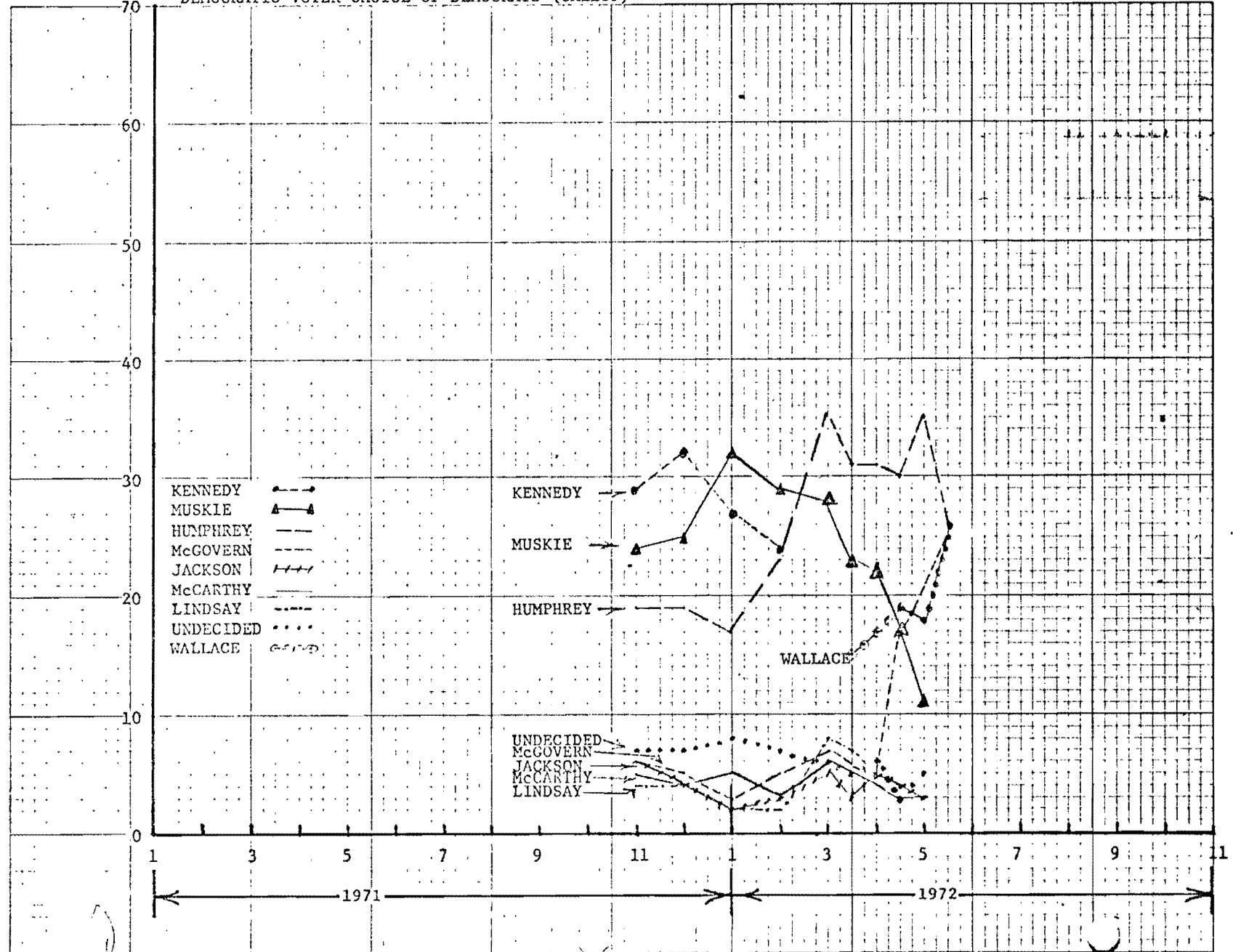
Attached are updated charts showing Gallup Poll results on Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace and Nixon-McGovern-Wallace, head-to-head standings, as well as the standing of the Democratic contenders in their own Party.

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (GALLUP)





DEMOCRATIC VOTER CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS (GALLUP)



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 15, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
 FROM: BOB MARIK  
 SUBJECT: Staffing for the Telephone Operation

In light of the substantial increase of activity in the Telephone Department between now and the general election, Nancy Brataas has worked out additional staffing requirements for her department, as shown on Tab A. These staff members would serve for about four months up to election day.

I recommend that authorization be given to fill the following positions:

1. Staff Assistant for Programs. Salary: \$800 per month. (Candidate: Betsy Whitlock) Responsibilities shown on Tab A.

Approve   X   Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

2. Staff Assistant for Budget and Distribution. Salary: \$600 per month. (Candidate: Tom Fowler) Responsibilities shown on Tab A.

Approve   X   Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

3. Secretary. Salary: \$700 to \$750 per month. (No candidate as yet) Responsibilities shown on Tab A. Present secretary, Mary Adams, is to be promoted to Administrative Assistant to Nancy Brataas (new responsibilities shown in Tab A). The department needs a replacement as soon as possible after a qualified person is located.

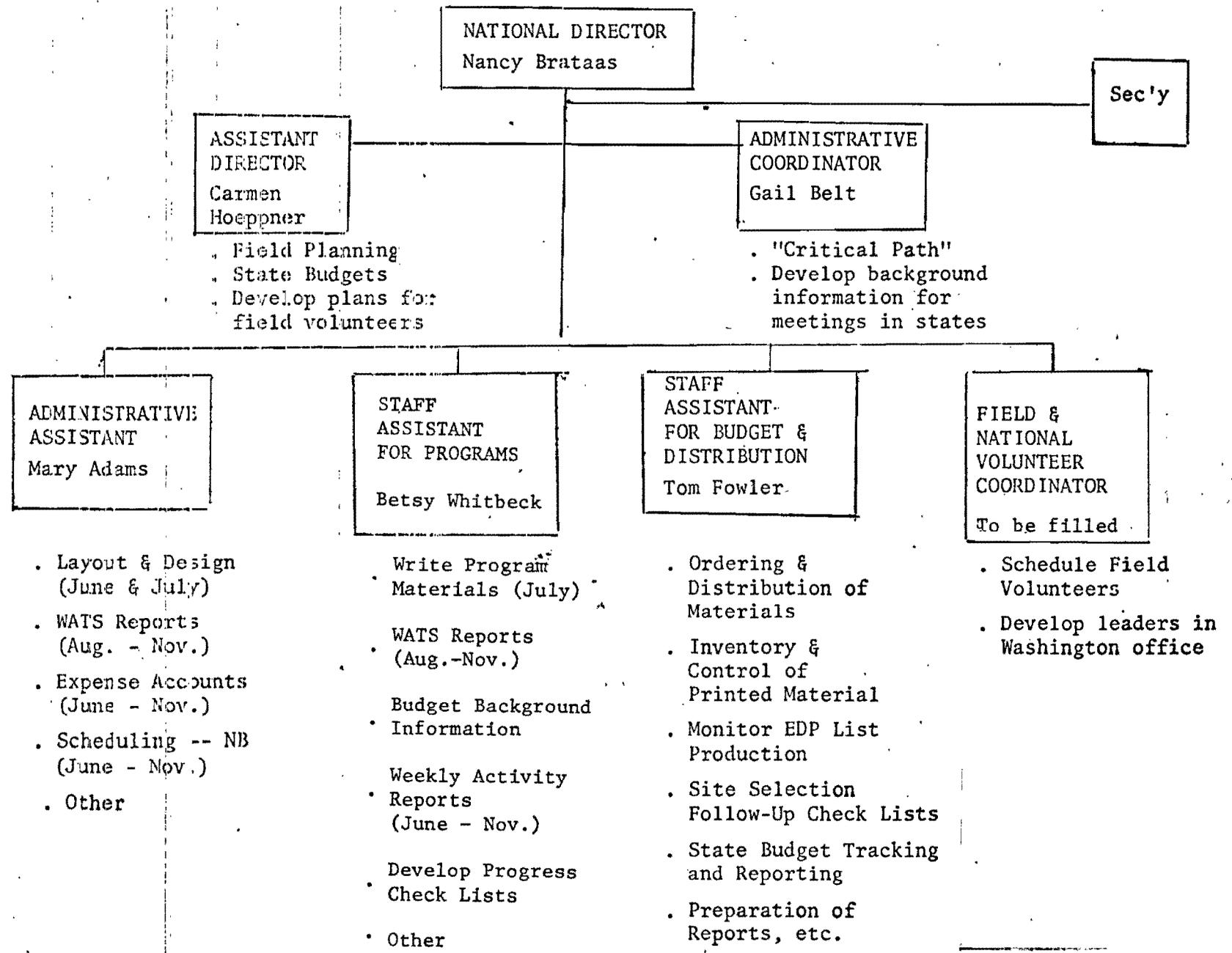
Approve   X   Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

4. Program Writer. Additional writing capacity will be needed to develop the materials for the eleven large states. The materials produced for the primary states will have to be extensively re-done for the general campaign. This activity will take place mainly during the months of June, July and August. A possible alternative might be to use someone attached to The November Group, who might return to the Group in September or October, after the telephone materials have been completed. If this position is approved for the telephone operation, we will determine salary range in order to hire a qualified professional.

Hire an additional writer in the Telephone Department\_\_\_\_\_.

Arrange for a writer from The November Group to be loaned to the telephone department in Washington through August\_\_\_\_\_.

X



TAB A

A

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Theodore White

I had lunch today with Teddy White, who now is beginning the research for his "Making of the President 1972" book. Although I filled him in to the best of my ability on the players and background of the campaign, he would like to spend one hour with you this week to discuss general campaign strategy at this stage of the campaign.

\_\_\_\_\_ Approve

\_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Some guidance from you on future candor with White would be helpful to me. Do we want to answer his questions with full candor or with guarded responses?

  
DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

6/29 - no one  
seen yet

0

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN<sup>M</sup>

SUBJECT: Voter Registration Lists for Key States

Listed below is a summary of the arrangements which have been made thus far to acquire voter registration lists from key states:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>TOTAL COST</u>	<u>STATE SHARE</u>	<u>RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE SHARE</u>
California	\$ 25,000		\$ 25,000
Connecticut	68,000	\$ 34,000	34,000
Illinois	70,000		70,000
Michigan	9,200		9,200
New Jersey	102,000	68,000	34,000
Pennsylvania	138,320		138,320
	<u>\$412,520</u>	<u>\$102,000</u>	
TOTAL COMMITTEE COST TO DATE			<u>\$310,520</u>

Negotiations are still in progress in the following states:

	<u>ESTIMATED COST</u>
Ohio	\$115,000
Texas	72,000
Washington	-0-
Maryland	16,000
New York	-0-
	<u>\$203,000</u>

A separate decision memorandum has been prepared and submitted for each state.

TOTAL COMMITTED AND ESTIMATED	<u>\$513,520</u>
DOLLARS OVER ORIGINAL ESTIMATED BUDGET	<u>\$121,020</u>

Written recommendations will be submitted for each state when the negotiations have been completed. Since not all states are sharing in the cost, our budget for the Data Base is above estimate.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 9, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN  
SUBJECT: California Voter Registration List Data Base

C. Howard Wilson Company of Van Nuys, California has been selected to collect California Voter Registration List data. References have been checked out. Total cost of the contract will be \$15,500 with \$5,000 withheld until all information is totally acceptable to us. The October Registration will cost \$9,500.

We will supply the company with detailed computer formats and other needed information.

The work must be accomplished in 20 days to meet our schedule.

Recommendation

That you approve our entering into a contract with C. Howard Wilson Company to collect and convert the California Voter Registration List Data Base. The Committee to pay \$15,500 for the April Registration and \$9,500 for the October update.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN ~~RM~~

SUBJECT: Confidential New Jersey Political Voting  
History Data

The New Jersey State Committee Chairman, John E. Dimon, and Executive Director, Miss Barbara Curran, have said that we can use the voting history data for the Committee's purposes but not pass it on to the RNC. We will get a print-out of the data and have our demographic maps made, and then return all of the data at the end of the election to New Jersey.

This means that in 1976 the Republican Presidential candidate will have to appeal to New Jersey for this information again.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you contact John Dimon directly and get him to allow the RNC to have use of the data.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

OR

RECOMMENDATION:

That we drop the subject and process for the Committee's own purposes and return it at the end of the election.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 8, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN #

SUBJECT: Connecticut Voter Registration List Data Base

Cambridge Opinion Studies of New York City has been selected to develop the Connecticut data base. Their references check out and the total cost for the project is \$68,000 based upon their proposal shown as TAB A.

We will supply Cambridge Opinion Studies with detailed computer formats and edit specifications. The contract will include a penalty clause, of one-half of one percent of the total billing for every day they are late. The total work period is six weeks.

Because of the tight schedule required to get this information to our precinct workers, it is necessary that we begin this collection immediately.

Recommendations

That you approve our entering into a contract with Cambridge Opinion Studies, Inc. to develop the Connecticut Voter Registration List Data Base. We pay \$34,000 and \$34,000 will be paid by the Connecticut State Committee to Cambridge Opinion Studies out of the proceeds from their fall dinner.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

CONFIDENTIAL

PROPOSAL OUTLINE

A Program of Data Collection and Conversion  
of Registered Voter Information  
in the State of Connecticut

Submitted to  
Committee for Re-Election of the President

May 1, 1972

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Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project is to convert voter registration information for the entire State of Connecticut from source material to magnetic tape.

The ultimate goal is to provide a comprehensive data bank of registered voter information which will allow for data manipulation for campaign planning purposes.

In line with these project objectives, Cambridge recommends conducting the following operations:

1. Collect voter registration information from 169 towns in Connecticut.

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Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

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2. Convert voter registration information from source to magnetic tape so that it can be rearranged, sorted and printed for such applications as labels, canvass (walking) lists and computer letters. The following information is available on voter registration lists:

- a. Name...last, first
- b. Street name
- c. House number
- d. Party affiliation\*
- e. Town, voting district, precinct.

---

\*Not available in every town

Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

3. Data which is not available on voter registration lists will be treated as follows:

- a. Sex - can be incorporated during the conversion by inspection.
- b. Zip Codes - can be integrated into the data bank by coding source material by hand or zip coding via computer.
- c. Census Tract - can be applied to voting districts by mapping census tracts onto voting district delineations.

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Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

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- d. Telephone Numbers - can be incorporated into data bank by computer merge if tapes are available or by coding source material by hand.
- e. Other Data - if voter application forms are available, the following can be converted along with the basic data:
- . marital status
  - . registration date
  - . date of birth
  - . place of birth
  - . length of residence
  - . occupation\*

...by posting information on voter registration sheets.

---

\*not available for new registrants in all towns due to change in election law.

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Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

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SOURCE DATA

All available source data that is current is hand written. An ongoing search effort is being made to locate voter registration information on magnetic tape.

Incorporation of additional data as required onto source documents can be accomplished by paid workers or on a volunteer basis whenever volunteers are available.

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Cambridge  
Opinion  
Studies, Inc.

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COSTS AND TIMING

Convert voter registration information---type and scan	\$41.50 <sup>1</sup> /1,000 names
Convert voter registration information---type and scan with 99% accuracy at 95% confidence level	\$49.00 /1,000 names
Tape reformat <sup>2</sup>	\$ 2.50 /1,000 names
Tape purchase estimate	\$ 5.00 /1,000 names
Census tract mapping	\$425
Computer merge of telephone numbers <sup>3</sup>	\$1,500
Zip coding via computer	\$14.50 /1,000 names
Coding telephone numbers by hand	Volunteer basis or \$60/1,000
Coding zip numbers by hand	Volunteer basis or \$60/1,000

---

<sup>1</sup>Cost estimates should be based on 1,400,000 registered voters in Connecticut; accuracy greater than 90%

<sup>2</sup>If source material is available on tape

<sup>3</sup>If telephone numbers are available on tape

Supplementary Cost Estimates

Sort	\$ 2.50/1,000 names
Print Canvass Lists	\$11.00/1,000 names
Print 5 across cheshire labels	\$ 4.00/1,000
Print 5 across pressure sensitive labels	\$ 6.00/1,000
Print dry gum labels	\$ 5.00/1,000
Affix labels	Cost varies by the type of mailing

Approximately 300,000 names per week can be converted after receipt of source material.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Using Control Data Model 3200 system and Scan-Optics OCR system

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 8, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN *RM*

SUBJECT: Pennsylvania Voter Registration List Data Base

Ed Nichols Associates of Kensington, Maryland has been selected to collect the data for the Pennsylvania Voter Registration Base. This firm has a close working relationship with the Pennsylvania Republican Committee and has submitted the lowest cost proposal, \$138,320, for the job. The proposal is at TAB A.

We will supply Ed Nichols Associates with the data formats and other information needed. The contract will include a penalty clause for late delivery. The delivery schedule by county is at TAB B.

The total work period for doing our job is ten weeks.

In order to meet our schedule of getting voter information to the field, it is necessary that we expedite the data collection and conversion process.

Recommendation

That you approve our entering into a contract with Ed Nichols Associates to develop the Pennsylvania Voter Registration List Data Base at a total cost of \$138,320.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

CONFIDENTIAL

ED NICHOLS ASSOCIATES  
POLITICAL DATA PROCESSING

10400 CONNECTICUT AVE.  
KENSINGTON  
MARYLAND 20795  
TEL. (301) 933-6030

PENNSYLVANIA REGISTERED VOTER

MASTER FILE PROPOSAL

(Revised)

Submitted To:

The Committee for the Re-election  
of the President

May 30, 1972

PENNSYLVANIA PROPOSAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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PENNSYLVANIA REGISTERED VOTER MASTER FILEINTRODUCTION

This is a revised version of the May 25 proposal. The revision is necessary in order to include the costs for converting the Democrat and unaffiliated voters in the counties that have printed lists as the source data.

This change increases the potential size of the Master File by approximately 1,525,000 voters. All of these additional voters are Democrats and Independents.

The total number of voters in Pennsylvania is approximately 5,450,000. Of this figure 2,510,000 are Republicans, 2,790,000 are Democrats, and 150,000 are unaffiliated.

The second revision is for the priority assignments for C and D counties. Five previously D counties have been upgraded to C. This change was made for counties having a minimum of 10,000 registered Republicans.

The Project is divided into four stages. These stages are identified in the proposal as "Plans". The same Plan letters are used in this revised proposal as were used in the May 25 proposal. At the completion of each stage, ENA will provide the Committee with a completed Master File of Pennsylvania registered voters. The following is a summary of each stage.

PLAN E -- A total of 3,040,590 records will be converted. This is 56% of all registered voters in the state. This file will include 1,343,753 Republicans, 1,612,841 Democrats, and 84,000 Independents. All input data for these 13 counties will be on magnetic tape.

PLAN F1 -- A total of 1,583,415 records will be converted. This is 30% of all voters in the state. It represents 31% of all Republicans in the state. Plans E and F1 combined provide a file of 86% of all voters, 85% of Pennsylvania's Republicans, 87% of Democrats, and 86% of the Independents. The 17 counties included in Plan F1 have input data available only by printed lists.

PLAN G -- A total of 555,208 records will be converted. This is 11% of all voters in the state. These counties contain 11% of all Republicans in the state. The 19 counties comprising Plan G have input data available only by printed list.

PLAN H -- A total of 181,516 records will be converted. This is 3% of all voters in the state. These counties contain 4% of all Republicans in the state. The 18 counties comprising Plan G have input data available only by printed list.

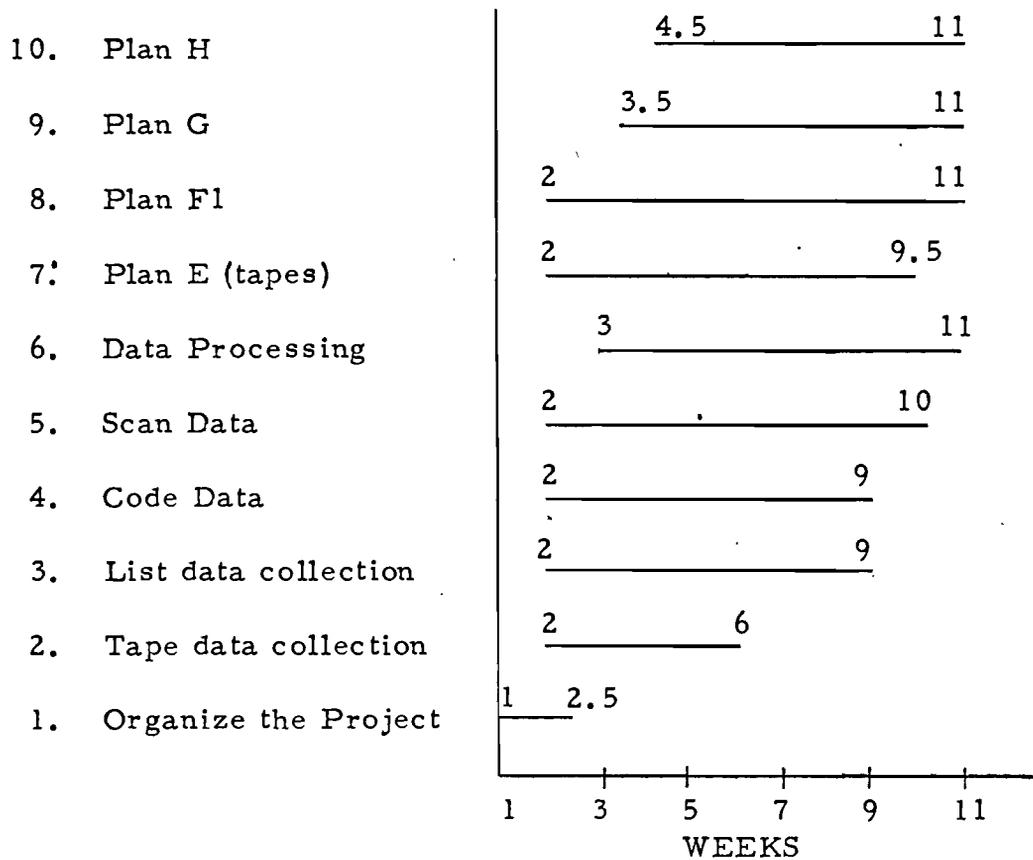
The May 25 proposal included a "Preliminary Timetable". The current Timetable has been improved. The improvement is based on earlier data collection for all 67 counties. This is described in a separate section.

The additional volume of data will not adversely effect the Timetable. ENA will have the capacity to code and convert 500,000 records per week from printed lists within three weeks of project commencement. Tape conversion will be completed for all counties by early August. The remaining 54 counties will be converted and delivered by Monday, August 21.

The final file will contain 100% of the registered voters in Pennsylvania. The Committee may request that voters in selected counties, towns or precincts not be included in the Master File. Such requests can be made at any time during the Project.

TIMETABLE

This is a general Timetable describing the milestone dates. At the start of the Project, ENA will prepare a detailed Timetable. Preliminary work has been completed on the detailed Timetable in order to determine major completion dates. The detailed Timetable of Activities will be transferred to a CPM Chart. The starting date is June 5.



The completion date for this Project is Monday, August 21.

## PROJECT MANAGEMENT

There are many elements that go into insuring that a Project such as this is successful. The two most important are good management and prior in-depth experience. ENA can bring both to this Project.

ENA has been providing computer services to the Pennsylvania State Committee and others in the state since 1968. During these years ENA has developed a political rapport with numerous people within the Republican Party. In order to meet the timetable deadlines established by the Committee, these individuals must be included in the early stages of the Project. The most serious potential bottleneck is data collection. The tapes and lists of source data must be collected as rapidly as possible. We feel there must be a close liaison with these Party leaders throughout the Project, but most especially during the first critical weeks.

Prior experience is important. ENA has been developing similar statewide voter name files since 1967. We can anticipate potential delays, and avoid or limit these delays. We know how many man-hours or days is required to efficiently complete each activity. In short, this experience is of great value to the Committee. It will result in savings of both time and money.

## STAFF

ENA will maintain an office in Harrisburg for the duration of the Project. This office will be staffed full time by the Project Director and a secretary-assistant. In addition, our main office is only two hours drive to Harrisburg.

Ed Nichols will serve as Project Manager. He will have the responsibility for overall planning and management. Mr. Nichols will work directly with the Committee to Re-Elect, and with the Party leaders in Pennsylvania.

ENA will provide all of the staff necessary to complete this Project on time and as contracted for. The staff to be assigned includes:

- a.) Full-time programmer/analyst.
- b.) Part-time programmer/operator.
- c.) Full-time data collection field man. This person will work out of the Harrisburg office.

- d.) Coding supervisor-trainer.
- e.) Data-prep coders. Eight to ten coders will be assigned for the duration of the Project.
- f.) Optical scanning liaison. This person will monitor all scanning activity.

ENA recognizes the complexity of this undertaking. We will supply whatever manpower is required to complete the task.

By providing these management services, ENA will make minimum demands upon the time of the Committee to Re-Elect staff.

### CONCLUSION

ENA will provide the Committee with weekly Status Reports and monthly Progress Reports. These reports will describe in detail all tasks completed, scheduled to be completed early, on time, or late, action taken or planned to correct problems that may arise. These reports will detail both good and bad news. The Committee will be 100% informed at all times as to the status of the Project. All ENA staff will submit weekly reports to their supervisor or to Mr. Nichols. He will prepare the reports to be submitted to the Committee.

A Timetable of Activities will be prepared at the Commencement of the Project. These activities will be transferred to a CPM Chart. The Chart will be updated as required. This Chart will aid in maintaining the schedule and avoiding costly bottlenecks. ENA's CPM experience includes preparing the first Chart for the Nixon for President Committee in 1967.

A comprehensive "County Activity Chart" will be maintained at the ENA offices. This chart will be updated daily. All 67 counties will be listed down the margin of the chart. Each task necessary to complete the Master File will be listed across the top of the chart. Each task will have a space provided for a.) start date, b.) planned completion date, c.) actual completion date, and d.) name of person assigned responsibility.

As an additional management tool, ENA relies on "Logs". These Logs maintain an accurate record of the flow of data through the system from collection to delivery to the customer. All data, for example, is logged into and out of coding, scanning, etc. At any time during the Project, ENA will know the status of data for any county or any precinct.

DATA COLLECTION

ENA has been providing services to the Pennsylvania State Committee since 1968. We provided statewide precinct election analysis in 1968, 1969 and 1970. We have supplied direct mail services for various projects. We have provided counsel for redistricting.

ENA has worked with Pennsylvania candidates from statewide to state legislative level.

We have gained both political and technical experience during these years in Pennsylvania. But, far more important to the Committee, ENA is known in the state, and we are on good terms with the Party leaders.

The most critical aspect of this Project is not the data conversion, but, the initial data collection of five and a half million records in 67 counties. As mentioned in the Management section, the Party leadership must be included in the initial stages if the job is to get done at all. ENA has worked with these individuals on other projects.

The following history demonstrates potential data collection difficulties. In 1968, and again in 1970, the State Committee had the responsibility of collecting past election results by precinct, and providing this data to ENA for analysis projects. This data collection activity was assigned each time to a single State Committee staffer. The first time, 1967-68, required 10 months. In 1970, it required 5 months. There are several reasons for the length of these data collection projects. Lack of experience by assigned staffers; staffer given other duties which took him away from this activity; slow response from the counties; etc. ENA did not have data collection responsibilities during these projects. The lesson is clear. Data collection must be handled differently; more staff is required; the activity must be accomplished on an intensive crash basis; follow-up with the counties must be immediate. ENA knows what must be done, and has the ability to complete the task.

Two months ago ENA conducted a data inventory of the Pennsylvania counties. Telephone calls were placed to election officials in the counties. The inventory determined that 13 counties, with 56% of the state's voters, had registered voter records on tape. The smallest counties, containing a combined total of only 15% of the state's voters, were not telephoned. All counties in the state updated their records for the April 25 Primary. Data can be collected at any time from the counties.

ENA believes that the collection activities must be thoroughly planned and executed. We will immediately meet with certain Party leaders to plan the data collection strategy. We will recruit the assistance of one local Party or county government official in each county. We will have the activity under control before the official request is made. In some counties, collection must be made quickly to avoid red tape and delays.

We will have field staff available to collect the data. When necessary, a programmer will aid in collecting machine readable data from selected counties.

We will initially collect all data from the counties with little or no collection problems first. This data will then begin to be converted. While the conversion is under way, we will continue collecting data from the more difficult counties.

All data will be checked as soon as collected. Tapes will be read and dumped. Record counts will be made of the tapes. A check will be made of counties on printed lists to insure all precincts are included.

ENA will work the hours and days that are necessary to complete the data collection efficiently and quickly.

PRIORITIES

A Project such as this should be planned and managed on a priority basis. ENA has separated the Project into four stages. The Committee may accept, reject or revise the priorities used to develop these four stages or "Plans."

Campaign politics are dynamic. Issues change, strategy changes, and usually the priorities change. We suggest that the Committee specify which counties should be converted first. Secondly, if all voters should be converted for each county, or if initially only Republicans and Independents be converted.

For example, the Committee may direct ENA to collect all data for Clearfield county, to code the records of all voters, to initially scan only Republicans and Independents and 35% of the Democrats. The Democrats to be converted are in the following precincts ---. If, at a later date, the priority for Clearfield county is upgraded, instructions can be given to scan the remaining 65% of the Democrats and add them to the Master File.

ENA will manage this Project in such a way as to provide the Committee with the potential to revise priorities.

REPUBLICAN VOTER REGISTRATION

In 1970 there were approximately 50,000 more Republicans than Democrats in Pennsylvania. Today there are 280,000 more Democrats than Republicans. The current totals are 2,509,000 Republicans, 2,790,000 Democrats, and 150,000 Independents.

Some of this can be attributed to the loss of the Statehouse. But, that is not the entire story. Since November, for example, one year after the election, Republican registration has remained static while Democratic registration has risen 100,000. Many voters registered Democrat to participate in the April Primary. But the real story is, that for the last two years there has been little activity on the part of Republicans to register voters. Meanwhile COPE and the Democrats have been busy.

We have an opportunity to change this situation. Republican Party leaders at the State, County and Legislative level want a registration program. Much of the necessary money is there. They do not have all of the necessary tools, however. This Master File can be invaluable.

The key counties can be combined to create a basic registration file. This basic file can be matched against a tape file for a universal list, such as the DMV or Donnelly. This matching program can provide an output file of unregistered names, and addresses and possibly telephone numbers. Lists can be printed of the unregistered names from the universal file. The lists will be distributed to the counties at training seminars. The local county organizations will then use these lists for a registration blitz.

Timing is very important. This registration project must be organized this summer and conducted in September. For this reason, it is important that the Master File be completed by mid-August.

ENA will provide the assistance necessary to insure a successful registration project.

COST INTRODUCTION FOR PLAN E

All of the source data obtained from the E counties will be on magnetic tape. This is the most economical data to acquire and convert.

This cost section describes the services ENA will provide to accomplish the tasks necessary to complete the Project. These costs are all-inclusive.

The following outline describes the ENA services to create the Pennsylvania Master File for E Priority counties.

1. Purchase Data
  - a.) Actual cost charged by each respective county.
  - b.) ENA staff assistance is billed under Management Services.
2. Data Processing
  - a.) The following services will be provided for the counties whose source data is available on magnetic tape.
    - 1.) Systems analysis and programming.
    - 2.) Reformat the county source tape to the Master File format.
    - 3.) Edit all records.
    - 4.) Sort the file for zipping.
    - 5.) Add the zip codes to all records.
    - 6.) Re-sort the file to the Master File sequence.
  - b.) Add a unique "voter ID" code to each record. This code will make subsequent updating more efficient and economical.
  - c.) Print a Precinct Totals Report. This printout will be a detailed report of all items on the Master File. Examples of data items printed are: number and percentage of Republicans and Democrats, totals by sex, number of households with one Republican, two Republicans, etc. This data can be used to supplement the Election Data Master File.

3. Management, Staff and Overhead

a.) The following services will be provided by ENA to accomplish all services described for Plan E.

- 1.) Project Manager.
- 2.) Project Director -- will be available as required for the Pennsylvania Project.
- 3.) Programming and computer operations staff.
- 4.) Data collection personnel.

b.) All costs for travel, per diem, telephone, and miscellaneous expenses are included in the management fee.

c.) All overhead costs are included.

4. Cost Summary

The costs below are for Plan E.

PLAN E

- a.) AA counties -- all voters (1,816,659)  
A counties -- all voters on tape (948,796)  
B counties -- all voters on tape (275,135)
- b.) Records to be converted from tape -- (3,040,590)
- c.) Total number of voters -- 3,040,590  
Number of Republicans -- 1,343,753  
Number of Democrats -- 1,612,841  
Number of Independents -- 84,000
- d.) Total Cost -- \$39,520

PLAN E COUNTIES

<u>Priority</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Number of Voters</u>
AA	Allegheny	860,232
AA	Philadelphia	955,892
A	Berks	116,351
A	Bucks	150,573
A	Chester	101,209
A	Delaware	282,265
A	Luzerne	167,111
A	York	108,769
B	Beaver	89,000
B	Butler	51,527
B	Dauphin	88,229
B	Lebanon	36,436
B	Lycoming	49,000

- 1.) Purchase data - - - - - At cost
- 2.) Data processing - - - - - \$ 8.00/M
- 3.) Management, staff, and overhead - - - - - \$ 5.00/M
- 4.) Total cost per thousand records - - - - - \$13.00/M

COST INTRODUCTION FOR PLANS F1, G, H

All of the source data obtained from the counties will be on printed lists. ENA will collect these lists.

The following outline describes the ENA services to create the Pennsylvania Master File for Plans F1, G and H.

1. Purchase Data
  - a.) Actual cost charged by each county. Most counties provide printed lists of registered voters free.
  - b.) ENA staff assistance is billed under Management Services.
2. Code and Edit Lists
  - a.) All lists will be checked to insure completeness. Any missing data will be collected. Incomplete or inaccurate lists will be replaced.
  - b.) All voter records will be coded with the county code, town code and precinct code.
  - c.) ENA will prepare a Precinct Directory for each county.
  - d.) All coded lists will be cut and stacked for optical scanning.
3. Optical Scanning
  - a.) All source data will be scanned from the registration lists.
  - b.) All scanned data will be visually verified.
4. Data Processing
  - a.) The following services will be provided for the counties whose source data is available on printed lists by precinct.
    - 1.) Systems analysis and programming.
    - 2.) Processing all punched cards to tape.
    - 3.) Converting all punched card formats to the Master File format.

- 4.) Edit all punched card input. Reject inaccurate cards.
  - 5.) Sort the file for zipping.
  - 6.) Add the zip codes to all records where applicable.
  - 7.) Re-sort the file to the Master File sequence.
- b.) Add a unique "voter ID" code to each record. This code will make subsequent updating more efficient and economical.
  - c.) Print a Precinct Totals Report. This printout will be a detailed report of all items on the Master File.
5. Management, Staff, and Overhead
- a.) The following staff will be provided by ENA to accomplish all services described for Plans F1, G and H.
    - 1.) Project manager
    - 2.) Project director -- will be available on a full-time basis for the Pennsylvania Project.
    - 3.) Programming and computer operations staff.
    - 4.) Data collection personnel.
    - 5.) Data editors and supervisor.
    - 6.) Optical scanning operations personnel.
  - b.) All costs for travel, per diem, telephone, and miscellaneous expenses are included in the management fee.
  - c.) All overhead costs are included.
  - d.) A more detailed description of ENA Management services for the Pennsylvania Project is included in a separate section of this proposal.

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN F1

Plan F1 will convert all of the registered Republican records in the A and B Priority counties that are available only on printed source documents. All tape records for these counties have been converted under Plan E. There are 17A and B counties on printed lists.

There are a total of 1,583,415 voters in these 13 counties. The registration is evenly split: 50% Republican, 50% Democrat.

The costs to convert the records for these counties are as follows:

PLAN F1

- a.) A counties -- head of household from lists (680,400)  
       B counties -- head of household from lists (269,699)  
       A counties -- secondary household records (453,516)  
       B counties -- secondary household records (179,800)
- b.) Records to be converted from lists (1,583,415)
- c.) Total number of voters -- 1,583,415  
       Total number of Republicans -- 776,780  
       Total number of Democrats -- 762,635  
       Total number of Independents -- 44,000
- e.) Total cost for Plan F1 counties -- \$65,385

The cost details are as follows for head of household records:

- 1.) Purchase data ----- At cost
- 2.) Code and edit forms ----- \$ 7.00/M
- 3.) Optical scan and visual verification ----- \$33.00/M
- 4.) Data processing ----- \$ 8.75/M
- 5.) Management, staff and overhead ----- \$ 6.25/M
- 6.) Total cost per thousand head of household records -- \$55.00

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN F1 (Continued)

The cost details are as follows for all other voter records.

1.)	Purchase data -----	At cost
2.)	Code and edit forms -----	\$ 2.25/M
3.)	Optical scan and visual verification -----	\$10.00/M
4.)	Data processing -----	\$ 4.50/M
5.)	Management, staff and overhead -----	\$ 4.00/M
6.)	Total cost per thousand voter records -----	\$20.75

PLAN F1 COUNTIES

<u>Priority</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Total Rep. &amp; Dem.</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
A	Blair	55,000	31,811
A	Cambria	88,349	40,463
A	Cumberland	58,700	37,941
A	Erie	111,944	50,861
A	Lackawana	132,373	44,809
A	Lancaster	122,000	78,639
A	Lehigh	104,106	47,956
A	Montgomery	269,484	193,743
A	Westmoreland	160,720	51,835
B	Clearfield	30,770	15,559
B	Centre	34,192	17,824
B	Indiana	33,000	18,363
B	Lawrence	48,000	24,274
B	Monroe	21,000	9,332
B	Northampton	88,016	29,027
B	Schuylkill	87,099	55,960
B	Washington	94,662	28,383
	Number of Republicans		<u>776,780</u>
	Number of Democrats		<u>762,635</u>
	Number of Independents		<u>44,000</u>
	TOTAL VOTERS		<u><u>1,583,415</u></u>

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN G

Plan G will convert all of the registered Republican records in the C Priority counties. There are 19 C counties. All voter records are available on printed lists.

There are a total of 555,208 voters in these 19 counties. The Republicans have a registration edge of 54% to 46%.

The costs to convert the records for these counties are as follows:

PLAN G

- a.) C counties -- head of household from lists (332,120)  
C counties -- secondary household records (223,088)
- b.) Records to be converted from lists (555,208)
- c.) Total number of voters -- 555,208  
Total number of Republicans -- 293,496  
Total number of Democrats -- 246,712  
Total number of Independents -- 15,000
- d.) Average cost per thousand voters -- \$43.80

The cost details are as follows for head of household records.

- 1.) Purchase data ----- At cost
- 2.) Code and edit forms ----- \$ 7.00/M
- 3.) Optical scan and visual verification ----- \$33.00/M
- 4.) Data processing ----- \$ 8.25/M
- 5.) Management, staff and overhead ----- \$ 9.75/M
- 6.) Total cost per thousand head of household records -- \$58.00

The cost details are as follows for all other voter records:

## PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN G (Continued)

1.)	Purchase data -----	At cost
2.)	Code and edit forms -----	\$ 2.25/M
3.)	Optical scan and visual verification -----	\$10.00/M
4.)	Data processing -----	\$ 4.00/M
5.)	Management, staff and overhead -----	\$ 6.50/M
6.)	Total cost per thousand voter records -----	\$22.75

PLAN G COUNTIES

<u>Priority</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Total Rep. &amp; Dem.</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
C	Adams	20,529	11,551
C	Armstrong	33,149	18,765
C	Bedford	18,282	11,054
C	Bradford	22,522	15,320
C	Carbon	23,990	11,623
C	Columbia	24,764	10,822
C	Crawford	30,476	18,421
C	Fayette	68,369	19,473
C	Franklin	37,206	20,893
C	Huntingdon	16,156	10,398
C	Jefferson	20,440	11,518
C	McKean	19,267	13,068
C	Mercer	52,929	26,292
C	Northumberland	46,295	26,842
C	Somerset	33,701	18,710
C	Susquehanna	15,936	10,479
C	Tioga	15,426	11,260
C	Venango	23,205	15,553
C	Warren	17,566	11,448
		Number of Republicans	<u>293,496</u>
		Number of Democrats	<u>246,712</u>
		Number of Independents	<u>15,000</u>

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN H

Plan H will convert all of the registered Republican records in the D Priority counties. There are 18 D counties. All counties maintain voter records on printed lists.

There are a total of 181,516 voters in these 18 counties. The Republicans have a registration edge of 60% to 40%.

The cost to convert the records for these counties are similar to those for Plan G, with one exception; management costs are higher. Costs are higher due to the fact that these are the smallest counties in Pennsylvania. They contain only 3% of the total voters in the state, and only 4% of the Republicans.

PLAN H ,

- a.) D counties -- head of household from lists (108,910)  
D counties -- secondary household records (72,606)
- b.) Records to be converted from lists (181,516)
- c.) Total number of voters ---- 181,516  
Total number of Republicans -- 97,905  
Total number of Democrats --- 76,611  
Total number of Independents -- 7,000
- d.) Average cost per thousand voters -- \$50.20
- e.) Total cost for Plan H counties -- \$9,084

The cost details are as follows for head of household records.

- 1.) Purchase data ----- At cost
- 2.) Code and edit forms ----- \$ 7.00/M
- 3.) Optical scan and visual verification ----- \$33.00/M
- 4.) Data processing ----- \$ 8.25/M
- 5.) Management, staff and overhead ----- \$15.00/M
- 6.) Total cost per thousand head of household records -- \$63.25

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT -- PLAN H (Continued)

The cost details are as follows for all other voter records.

1.)	Purchase data -----	At cost
2.)	Code and edit forms -----	\$ 2.25/M
3.)	Optical scan and visual verification -----	\$10.00/M
4.)	Data processing -----	\$ 4.00/M
5.)	Management, staff and overhead -----	\$14.00/M
6.)	Total cost per thousand voter records-----	\$30.25

PLAN H COUNTIES

<u>Priority</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Total Reps. &amp; Dems.</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
D	Cameron	3,469	2,039
D	Clarion	15,812	8,281
D	Clinton	14,624	8,160
D	Elk	14,675	6,113
D	Forest	2,288	1,389
D	Fulton	4,594	2,144
D	Greene	15,696	3,653
D	Juniata	7,727	4,202
D	Mifflin	17,399	9,421
D	Montour	6,868	3,534
D	Perry	12,518	7,882
D	Pike	6,803	4,495
D	Potter	7,130	4,472
D	Snyder	10,478	7,741
D	Sullivan	3,126	1,794
D	Union	9,686	7,089
D	Warren	17,566	11,448
D	Wayne	12,749	9,225
D	Wyoming	8,874	6,271

Number of Republicans	<u>97,905</u>
Number of Democrats	<u>76,611</u>
Number of Independents	<u>7,000</u>

TOTAL VOTERS 181,516

PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT SUMMARY CHART

<u>Plan</u>	<u>Number of Counties</u>	<u>County Priority</u>	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>State %</u>	<u>Republican Voters</u>	<u>State %</u>	<u>Democrat Voters</u>	<u>State %</u>	<u>Other Voters</u>	<u>Cost Per/M</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
E	13	AA, A, B	3,040,590	56%	1,343,753	54%	1,612,841	60%	84,000	\$13.00	\$39,520
F1	17	A, B	1,583,415	30%	776,780	31%	762,635	27%	44,000	\$41.30	\$65,385
G	19	C	555,208	11%	293,496	11%	246,712	10%	15,000	\$43.80	\$24,330
H	18	D	181,516	3%	97,905	4%	76,611	3%	7,000	\$50.20	\$9,085
TOTALS: <u>67 (100%)</u>			<u>5,360,729</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>2,511,928</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>2,698,799</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>150,000</u>	<u>\$25.82</u>	<u>\$138,320</u>

NOTE: Totals are based on November, 1971, county total statistics.  
The current number of total voters in the state is  
approximately 5,450,000. All of the increase is on the  
Democrat side.

NOTE ON PRECINCT PRIORITY ANALYSIS

ENA feels strongly that all political programs should be planned and managed on a priority basis. This is vitally important in a project such as the one outlined in this proposal.

We have suggested in other reports to the Committee that records of registered voters should be converted in a priority manner. Republicans almost always have priority over Democrats. High ticket splitter precincts should usually have priority over low ticket splitter precincts. Precincts with high voter turnout are more important than those with low turnout. And so forth.

ENA will provide the Committee, at no cost, a Precinct Priority Analysis for use in this project. ENA will work with the Committee to establish the criteria to be used to establish Priority Precincts, and to design the print format.

We have been providing election analysis services to the State Committee since 1968. We have all of the Pennsylvania precinct data files, and can have any analysis completed in 7 to 10 days.

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>DUE IN</u>
Allegheny	860,232	July 8
Delaware	282,265	July 8
Cambria	88,349	July 8
Cumberland	58,700	July 8
Lancaster	122,000	July 8
Bucks	150,573	July 24
Luzerne	167,111	July 24
Montgomery	269,484	July 24
Berks	116,351	August 1
Chester	101,209	August 1
York	108,769	August 1
Butler	51,527	August 1
Lebanon	36,436	August 1
Lehigh	104,106	August 1
Beaver	89,000	August 7
Dauphin	88,229	August 7
Lycoming	49,000	August 7
Erie	111,944	August 7
Westmoreland	160,720	August 7
Philadelphia	955,892	August 15
Blair	55,000	August 15
Lackawana	132,373	August 15
Clearfield	30,770	August 15
Centre	34,192	August 15
Indiana	33,000	August 15
Lawrence	48,000	August 15

B

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>DUE IN</u>
Monroe	21,000	August 15
Schuylkill	87,099	August 15
Northampton	88,016	August 21
Washington	94,662	August 21
Adams	20,529	August 21
Armstrong	33,149	August 21
Bedford	18,282	August 21
Bradford	22,522	August 21
Carbon	23,990	August 21
Columbia	24,764	August 21
Crawford	30,476	August 21
Fayette	68,369	August 21
Franklin	37,206	August 21
Huntingdon	16,156	August 21
Jefferson	20,440	August 21
McKean	19,267	August 21
Mercer	52,929	August 21
Northumberland	46,295	August 21
Somerset	33,701	August 21
Susquehanna	15,936	August 21
Tioga	15,426	August 21
Venango	23,205	August 21
Cameron	3,469	August 21
Clarion	15,812	August 21
Clinton	14,624	August 21

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>DUE IN</u>
Elk	14,675	August 21
Forest	2,288	August 21
Fulton	4,594	August 21
Greene	15,696	August 21
Juniata	7,727	August 21
Mifflin	17,399	August 21
Montour	6,868	August 21
Perry	12,518	August 21
Pike	6,803	August 21
Potter	7,130	August 21
Snyder	10,478	August 21
Sullivan	3,126	August 21
Union	9,686	August 21
Warren	17,566	August 21
Wayne	12,749	August 21
Wyoming	8,874	August 21

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 15, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN *A*

SUBJECT: Illinois Voter Registration List Data Base

Cohasset Associates, Incorporated (Bob Williams, Principal) of Chicago has been selected to collect and convert the Illinois Voter Registration List Data Base. Total estimated cost will be \$70,000.

We will supply Cohasset Associates with the tape formats and other technical specifications. A penalty clause of one-half of one percent of the gross billing will be included in the contract.

Joe Farrell on the campaign staff for Senator Percy, turned down having them participate financially in the development of the list. Jim Mack, Governor Ogilvie's Campaign Manager, said he would not participate if Bob Williams was the supplier. We then received a call from Bob Athey, the Administrative Aide to C. Clement Stone, who said that if the only reason we were not using Williams was Governor Ogilvie's objection, then he would recommend to Mr. Stone that they pick up Ogilvie's share.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Committee enter into a contract with Cohasset Associates, Incorporated for the development of the Illinois Voter Registration List Data Base for a cost of \$70,000 and that we continue to try and get financial support from C. Clement Stone.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

cc: Mr. Al Kaupinen  
Dr. Robert H. Marik

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 30, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: BOB MORGAN   
SUBJECT: Voter Registration Test

A memorandum regarding a Pennsylvania voter registration test is attached as TAB A. This memorandum gave us authority to test two voter registration programs. Prior to the time of getting approval, Herman Bloom, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of the President, proceeded on his own to implement the test. We are presently tracking with him and will forward the results of the test when completed.

Attachment: TAB A

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDE  
FROM: ROBERT MORGAN  
SUBJECT: Voter Registration Test

In a recent meeting, Herman Bloom, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of the President, presented a voter registration proposal. Ed DeBolt was of the opinion that the RNC "target" method produced more effective results. The meeting adjourned with the agreement that we test both methods and closely follow costs per new voter. The evaluation should be on cost per new voter and the number of new voters per volunteer.

The DeBolt voter registration technique is well known:

1. Volunteers gather on a Saturday.
2. Streets are assigned.
3. Volunteers knock on all doors and check on registration.
4. Volunteers meet back at the starting spot.
5. The names of the Republican leaning non-registered voters are given to the local organization to register.

The Bloom method works this way:

1. A list of registered voters is acquired on magnetic tape for a city.
2. This registration list is passed by a list of all households in the same area.
3. The non-registered voters are then printed out in two groups --
  - households with telephones
  - households with cars but no telephones or have unlisted telephones.

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4. Volunteers now call all non-registered voter households on the phone to determine their party preference. Then they have them registered by the local organization.

5. Volunteers go door to door only to those households without telephones to determine their party preference and then give the names to the local organization to register.

. We are initiating this request instead of the field organization because the development of the registered voter list and the list of the other non-registered households come under the direct mail responsibility. The feasibility and techniques have been discussed with Harry Flemming's people and they look forward to a test as described. Herman Bloom has been discussing this with us and we in turn have been keeping Harry Flemming's people informed.

The budget to accomplish these tests will be spent on software, registered list acquisition, computer time to identify the non-registered households, putting the telephone numbers on the tape by computer and developing the computer printouts necessary to technically accomplish the test as designed.

Recommendation

That you approve a test in Pennsylvania that will evaluate both methods of voter registration. This test will not exceed \$4,500 in direct costs.

Approve  Disapprove  Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 9, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN  
SUBJECT: New Jersey Voter Registration List  
Data Base

As we discussed in the direct mail budget meeting last week we are ready to proceed with a formal agreement with the New Jersey State Committee and A.R.A.P., a software supplier from New Jersey, to develop a data base. A.R.A.P.'s references have checked out and only positive comments have been received by the RNC and the New Jersey Central Committee, where they have been working with A.R.A.P. for over a year. A.R.A.P. is totally acceptable to the people of New Jersey, and their recommendation of \$102,000 to complete the job is the lowest firm bid, as well as the most technically complete. (See Tab A)

We will work in tandem with A.R.A.P. to develop the computer tape formats and give them 24 hour communication on technical problems. We will also prepare a manual to handle the parameters for the detailed input. The contract, when written, will include our paying one-third of the cost, with the New Jersey people paying two-thirds. We will act as project directors with management controls. The contract will also include a penalty clause, which A.R.A.P. has agreed to, of one-half of one percent of the total billing per day for every day they are late. The total work period from the time that the letter of intent is entered into is 11 weeks. By starting on May 15th, the project should be completed by August 1st. The time to complete this project is close to 30 days less than the other previous bids.

Don Mosiman is aware of these negotiations and our tentative agreement with Barbara Curran to split the cost. Barbara Curran,

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- 2 -

the Executive Director of the New Jersey Committee, indicated a tentative agreement, however, she also indicated that Governor Cahill was a bit reticent, and that it might be necessary to have some support from yourself.

In order to meet our schedule of being ready with our data for precinct workers, it is necessary to begin our data base development with the states in the immediate future. Our suggested letter of agreement with A.R.A.P. is attached as Tab B.

Recommendations

1. That you approve our entering into a contract with the New Jersey Committee and A.R.A.P. to develop the New Jersey Voter Registration List Data Base, at a total cost of \$102,000. The Committee to pay \$34,000 and the New Jersey Committee to pay \$68,000.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

X

2. That we enter into a letter of agreement with A.R.A.P. while the formal contract is developed. The New Jersey Committee will also enter into a letter of agreement, and A.R.A.P. will need both letters of agreement to begin the project.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSAL OUTLINE  
TO  
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF NEW JERSEY  
AND THE  
COMMITTEE TO REELECT THE PRESIDENT  
FOR THE  
DATA COLLECTION, EDITING, AND FORMATING  
INTO MACHINE-READABLE FORM OF  
CURRENT VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION  
FOR THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

by  
A.R.A.P.  
50 Washington Road  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

May 9, 1972

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## STATEMENT OF WORK

A.R.A.P. will undertake to convert onto a master tape\* information on every registered voter in the State of New Jersey. Existing magnetic tapes or punched cards will be used as source where available. Printed lists will be utilized otherwise. In either case, the information will be converted to a standard tape format sorted by zip code. Geo-political data which can be associated with zip code (i.e., congressional district, counties, etc.) will be added by means of a look-up table keyed on zip code. Such information can be entered onto the tape only when it changes value or can be placed with each record.

Extensive error checking procedures will be utilized to locate and eliminate erroneous data. Software for this purpose, as well as for the future modification, deletion, and addition of records, will be developed as an integral part of this program.

A tight schedule will be maintained by constant supervision of the several facets of the program throughout its duration. Completion date will be August 1, 1972, provided that a signed contract is obtained by May 15, 1972.

## 1. SOURCE DATA COLLECTION

1.1 Current Availability of Data

The following status of information is assumed to exist at the present time (counties are listed by size)

<u>County</u>	<u>Number of Registered Voters</u>	<u>Media Available</u>	<u>Party ID</u>
Bergen	480,000	Tape	Present
Essex	390,000	Tape	Present
Hudson	280,000	List	Missing
Middlesex	270,000	Tape	Present
Union	270,000	Tape	Missing
Camden	220,000	Tape	Present
Monmouth	200,000	Tape	Present
Passaic	200,000	List	Missing
Morris	170,000	Tape	Present
Mercer	150,000	List	Present
Burlington	120,000	List	Present
Ocean	100,000	Tape	Present
Somerset	90,000	Cards	Present
Atlantic	90,000	List	Missing
Gloucester	80,000	Tape	Present
Cumberland	50,000	List	Missing
Sussex	40,000	List	Present
Cape May	30,000	Tape	Present
Warren	30,000	List	Missing
Hunterdon	30,000	List	Missing
Salem	30,000	List	Missing

### 1.2 Tape/Card Acquisition

For those counties for which data exist in machine-readable form, A.R.A.P. will obtain copies of the information from the appropriate source and will assume the costs incurred for copying.

### 1.3 List Acquisition

For those counties for which data exist only on printed lists, A.R.A.P. will acquire a copy of such lists, paying up to \$.25 per election district for the copies.

## 2. SOURCE DATA AUGMENTATION

### 2.1 Party Affiliation

A.R.A.P. proposes that the final master tape contain a party identification for every registered voter.

For those counties supplying printed lists with no party ID, A.R.A.P. will arrange, with the cooperation of the county Republican committee, for volunteers to add such ID to the lists from official registration records. Such volunteer help will be overseen by the A.R.A.P. Project Director.

For Union County (in which a tape without party ID exists), A.R.A.P. will provide a listing to which volunteers will add the party ID.

### 2.2 Other Information Available on Tapes

In section 3.3, the complete list of data fields possible is discussed. Any of these fields present on the available tapes will be transcribed.

### 2.3 Geo-Political Information

Data of a geo-political nature (such as congressional district, assembly district, etc.) will be added by means of a look-up table keyed to zip code if not present or checked for correctness if supplied (see section 4.3).

### 3. DATA CONVERSION

#### 3.1 Tape/Card Source

A.R.A.P. will supply all necessary software to read the tapes and cards supplied by the counties having the information on such media.

#### 3.2 List Source

A.R.A.P. will convert to machine-readable form data supplied by those counties having information only on printed lists. The format for this conversion will be free form, adjusted for each county to best suit the form of the source lists provided by that county. For the purposes of this quote, it is assumed that the information to be converted per registered voter will not exceed an average of 80 columns.

#### 3.3 Master Tape Format

Recognizing that the master tape will be utilized for various applications, the data format for each registered voter and the blocking factor will be that selected by the Committee to Reelect the President and the Republican State Committee of New Jersey.

The data fields to be allowed will be

- County
- Congressional District
- Municipality
- Ward
- Precinct
- Name
- Address
- Zip Code

Voter Registration Number  
Party ID  
Telephone  
Title (Dr., Mr., Mrs., etc.)  
Alternate Title (Mr. and Mrs. or X - see below)  
Year of Last Registration  
Age  
Census Tract

If desired, slowly varying information (e.g., county) will be supplied only when such information changes.

If two adjacent registered voters have the same name (minus title) and the same address, the first record will be tagged by placing the sum of their respective title fields into the alternate title field (i.e., Dr. & Mrs., Mr. & Mrs., etc.). The second record, in such instance, will contain an X in the alternate title field, such X covering a skip of that record.

The software to accomplish the above conversions and to supply the alternate title field contents will be a part of the proposed effort.

#### 4. AUTOMATED ERROR CHECKING FEATURES

Even though all data to be converted from lists will be verified at conversion time, it is desirable to further check systematically for errors (both from the freshly converted data and information supplied on tape and cards). Thus, A.R.A.P. proposes that the following minimum procedures be undertaken by the computer via specially written software.

##### 4.1 Existence of Mandatory Data

All records will be reviewed for the presence of those data fields which are required on every record. As a minimum, the fields would be name, address, zip code, and party ID (in addition to the geo-political information - see the following section).

##### 4.2 Location Compatibility

A.R.A.P. proposes to establish a look-up table of geo-political information (i.e., municipalities, congressional districts, etc.) as a function of zip code. This table will supply geo-political information where missing or check for correctness where the information has been supplied in the source (see also section 2.3).

##### 4.3 Verification of Registration Count

A.R.A.P. presently has a data base containing the number of voters registered in each ward/municipality for the 1971 election. This count will be compared with a ward/municipality by ward/municipality count obtained from the master tape.

#### 4.4 Pattern Matching of Name and Address Field

All names and street/P.O. box addresses will be pattern matched for reasonableness.

#### 4.5 Checking of Telephone Numbers

All telephone numbers will be checked for the appropriate area code (609 or 201) via the above look-up table and pattern matched for the appropriate digit pattern.

#### 4.6 Treatment of Erroneous Records

All records found to be in error via any of the above-noted techniques will be transcribed to a separate tape. Subsequent corrections will be effected on this tape on a county by county basis. As the corrections for each county are completed, the master tape will be updated.

The software to accomplish the above-noted error checking will be a part of the proposed effort.

## 5. DATA UPDATING

### 5.1 Record Selection

Records to be updated are identified by entering a selection card upon which is punched zip code plus one other appropriate field (i.e., registration number if available or full name including title). If this combination should find no record, an error message is generated. If it should locate multiple records, all such are printed out in sequence with a special sequence number to enable further specification.

### 5.2 Record Modification

Each selection card is paired with a card containing the updated information. All such records will be sorted by zip code in a temporary modification file. The master tape will be paired against this file and modifications effected as each record is located.

### 5.3 Record Deletion

A special tag on the selection card will note that the record indicated is to be deleted from the master tape.

### 5.4 Record Addition

New records will be merged into the master tape in sort order.

The software to accomplish the above-noted updating procedures will be a part of this proposal.

## 6. COMPUTER CONFIGURATION

The computer facility that will be used to accomplish these tasks consists of an

IBM 360/65 with 512K <sup>bytes</sup> bits core

with

- 16 2319 compatible disk drives
- 4 2311 compatible disk drives
- 5 9-track dual density tape drives
- 1 7-track dual density tape drive
- 1 2540 card reader with column binary attachment
- 1 2501 card reader
- 2 1403 line printer (1100 lines/minute)
- 1 2703 compatible telecommunications

The operating system is generally OS/MFT.

## 7. PERSONNEL

### 7.1 Project Director

Mrs. Ellen Hoke of A.R.A.P. will be assigned as full-time project director of this program. She will be responsible for the day-to-day progress of the source data collection, overseeing of volunteer help with party ID additions, where needed, supervision of data conversion, follow-ups with respect to error corrections, and all administrative details, including monthly progress reports.

Mrs. Hoke is well-qualified to direct this effort. As a former Assistant Dean of the Faculty at Princeton University, her duties included the responsibility for collecting and maintaining comparative statistics on many facets of university operations.

### 7.2 Other Key Personnel

Peter J. Woodrow of A.R.A.P. will oversee the development of all necessary software. He is Head of Systems Software Development at A.R.A.P. and, as such, was responsible for the programming of A.R.A.P.'s proprietary interactive data retrieval system, DRS.

K. Evan Gray, Vice President of Information Retrieval Systems at A.R.A.P. will maintain close management supervision of the project throughout its duration. He will also maintain contact with both the Republican State Committee of New Jersey and the Committee to Reelect the President.

8. SCHEDULE

Signed Contract..... May 15  
Acquisition of all Source Tapes,  
Cards and Lists Completed ..... June 1  
Data Augmentation (where necessary) Completed..... June 26  
Data Conversion Completed..... July 4  
Geo-Political Look-Up Table Completed..... July 4  
Error Checking/Correction Software Completed..... July 4  
Correct Master Tape Completed..... August 1  
Data Modification Software Completed..... August 1

9. TOTAL COST

The total cost of this project, including

- Data Acquisition (tapes, cards and lists)
- Data Augmentation where necessary
- Data Conversion where necessary
- Establishment of the Geo-Political Look-Up Table
- All Error-Checking Software
- Correction of Records Found to be in Error
- Record Updating Software
- Required Travel,

all to be accomplished by 1 August 1972, will be \$102,000.

## COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

May 9, 1972

Dear Mr. Gray:

This letter will act as a tentative agreement for A.R.A.P. to proceed in the development of the voter registration data for the state of New Jersey, for all of the counties, as detailed in your proposal to the Republican State Committee of New Jersey and the Committee for the Re-election of the President, dated May 9, 1972. A copy of the fielded 200 character format has already been given to you and you agree to adhere to it with minimal changes. You will develop two copies of the tape: one for the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the other to the New Jersey Committee. You will include telephone numbers where they appear on the tape or on the original source document, and will put all of the data variables on the tape, including county, congressional district, municipality, ward, precinct, name, address, zip code, voter registration number, party ID, telephone, title (Dr. Mr. Mrs., etc.), alternate title (Mr. and Mrs. etc.), year of last registration, age, census tract. You will also provide a list of precincts that fall within each telephone center. This will be done on a separate print out by city and supported by magnetic tape.

As you indicated in your proposal, this project will take eleven weeks and you will accept a penalty of one-half of one percent per day for every day the project is late, based on the total gross project cost of \$102,000.

We agree to give you a manual on the parameters for each of the data points in the tape format and to give you two individuals from our task force, with their home and office numbers to answer questions at any time during the day or night.

A formal contract is presently being developed and this letter of agreement will only commission you to begin the project when accompanied with the letter of agreement from the New Jersey State Committee.

Sincerely,

L. Robert Morgan

cc: Barbara Curran

Mr. K. Evan Gray, Vice President  
A.R.A.P.  
P. O. Box 2229  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MORGAN ~~AA~~

SUBJECT: Michigan Data Base Development

Michigan is going to do a pilot program for voter identification and registration for Eaton, Ingham and Kent counties. A print-out, triple-spaced, with twenty names on a page, in either street-walking or alphabetical sequence by surname, will be provided based on the type of program in each city. If a home center or telephone bank is used, then the print-out would be in alphabetical sequence by surname. If a blitz or precinct program is going to be implemented, then the print-out would be in street-walking sequence. The geographical areas being picked will be by precinct based on the voter history. Precincts will be related to census tracts and the names will be pulled by census tract. Michigan, as you know, does not have a list of registered voters.

Michigan people will contact all the households identified using the pre-printed form (TAB A is an example of this format). Telephone numbers will be printed out when available. Each household will be asked: if they will support Senator Griffin; will support the President; and if they are undecided in either, what is the specific issue that concerns them. They will also be asked if they are registered. The precinct, ward and other voting data will be put on the manuscript and then on the tape.

After the voting preference and registration is identified on a page, the list will be sent to our Data Center. Registered voters for the President will be key-punched in order to receive a "Get Out the Vote" telegram in November. All undecided voters will receive a personalized letter with support on the issue(s) that concern them. Non-registered voters who support Senator Griffin or the President will be followed-up and registered.

Senator Griffin's people will be asked to participate in the program on a 50/50 basis, however, we expect them to negotiate toward only one-third financial participation. The original voter identification sheets will also be used as the get out the vote list for each precinct. This gives each precinct two copies: one for poll watching and one for the follow-up get out the vote activities.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the pilot program for no more than 216,000 names at a cost of no more than \$8,000. Senator Griffin's participation will decrease this amount proportionately.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

+

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik  
Mr. Don Mosiman



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *R.C.O.*

As you know, Dick Moore has been working with Hawthorn Books in getting the new text-and-photo book "Eye on Nixon" ready for a publication date of June 20. The hardcover book contains 128 pages of photographs.

I have been assisting Dick in putting together a plan to achieve a maximum distribution of the book -- our first goal is not to raise money or even distribute the book widely but to distribute as many working copies as possible:

1. Through Bill Stover's Physicians Committee we can easily obtain a list of 6,654 groups of doctors who practice together -- over 40,000 doctors but just over 6,000 waiting rooms. We propose to mail the book with a letter from our doctors' chairman to each of these 6,654 groups of doctors, and we'll ask those doctors to send back at least enough money to cover the cost of the book.

As you know, we originally agreed to purchase 25,000 books at \$1.68 per copy. The doctors' books will be taken from this supply, and Stover believes we will more than make up the cost of sending the 6,654 books. If we do, and if this phase of the project is a success, then we'll probably want to send more to physicians' and dentists' waiting rooms.

Mr. Stans has cleared Stover's letter and proposal which is at Tab A. It is recommended that this mailing now be begun.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

2. In an effort to dispose of the remaining 19,000 books, a coupon will appear (see Tab B) in next week's issue of FIRST MONDAY which goes to more than 250,000 persons. A similar coupon will also appear in the RE-ELECTOR. We're offering the

book at a special pre-publication price of \$5.00 so our profit is \$2.82 on each book (\$1.68 plus 50¢ for postage and handling = \$2.18. \$5.00 minus \$2.18 = \$2.82). Since the RNC will process all the orders, deposit checks, type mailing labels, etc., it is recommended that the profit be split evenly between the RNC and 1701.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

3. Dick Moore is encouraging Julie Eisenhower (who edited the book) to do a TV talk show such as Johnny Carson and discuss the book. Julie may also drop-by the American Book Sellers Association Convention in Washington June 3-6.

4. Thomas W. Evans of New York has talked with Clem Stone, who owns Hawthorn, and he has agreed to have Hawthorn place ads in major metropolitan newspapers throughout the country advertising the book's publication. Hawthorn's ad is at Tab C. Originally Hawthorn was planning only three ads in three papers but at Stone's request is now planning a whole series.

5. "The Ladies Home Journal" will have a special feature about the book in its July issue which comes out June 20.

6. We are going to urge Bill Safire (who did the text) to go on a short tour of major "book cities" and participate in autograph parties. Van Shumway will then place him on local TV talk shows in each city. Safire is excellent in such appearances and this will be discussed with him as soon as he returns from the Soviet Union.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

7. As soon as the book is published we plan to call all our Nixon state chairmen and ask them to assign one person to coordinate a project in that state's larger cities whereby individuals would visit local bookstores and ask about the book. Others would telephone asking if the store had it. Hopefully this would cause the bookstores to prominently display the book in their windows and on the counters. Local committees would also be encouraged to get copies for their local book editors and request reviews in the local papers.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

8. The book can be sold at displays in the Miami Beach convention hall and in the lobbies of the major hotels. We will attempt to get Hawthorn to run these booths and offer discounts to local

committees for bulk purchases and later sales at dinners, rallies, etc.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

Incidentally, except for the Physicians letter, the Finance Division does not wish to use the book as a fund-raising technique.

cc: Mr. Richard A. Moore

PHYSICIANS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Dear Doctor:

When I saw this book, "Eye on Nixon," I thought immediately what a worthwhile addition it would be to the reading material in my office reception room.

In the hope that you and other physicians might want to make this book available in your waiting rooms, our Committee has embarked on a project to distribute it as widely as possible to our colleagues in office-based practice.

If you agree with us that the re-election of President Nixon is of vital importance to our profession and to our country, you can join us in this project -- first by placing the book in your reception room and, second, by sending your check, payable to "Finance Committee to Re-elect the President," in the return envelope provided.

Every \$100 you contribute will permit us to send out 60 more books. \$100 is only 48¢ per week for four years -- not a bad investment to help assure another term of sound government under President Nixon. And remember, political contributions up to \$50 (or \$100, if you and your wife file a joint return) are deductible under the new tax law.

With our sincere appreciation for your help,

Cordially,

Malcolm C. Todd, M.D.  
Chairman

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
FROM: WILLIAM W. STOVER  
SUBJECT: DISTRIBUTION OF "EYE ON NIXON"

I would recommend that we purchase a mailing list of office-based physicians, and send out 25,000 copies of the book to a selected list with the attached letter and a return envelope.

I have discussed the mailing list situation with a representative of Clark O'Neal Company in New Jersey, which does mailings to physicians from many pharmaceutical companies. The situation is as follows:

- 309,000 total physicians
- 190,000 physicians in office-based practice
- 40,000 office-based physicians practice in 6,654 groups

We could mail to the 6,654 groups and reach the waiting rooms of 40,000 physicians, which I would recommend doing.

This would leave 18,300 copies to be distributed some way among the remaining 150,000 office-based physicians. We can select from these on several bases:

a. By age

- |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| • office-based physicians under 35 | 10,340  |
| • " " " under 45                   | 65,566  |
| • " " " under 55                   | 122,332 |
| • " " " under 65                   | 162,738 |

b. By state -- the total number of office-based physicians in key states is as follows:

California	25,254
Illinois	9,280
Michigan	6,419
New Jersey	6,681
New York	21,922
Ohio	8,685
Pennsylvania	10,454
Texas	9,158

Memo to Rob Odle  
May 24, 1972  
Page two

I would recommend that we mail to the approximately 57,000 physicians in the 45 to 55 age group, those being in active practice and more likely to support us than the younger group.

Approximately 28,000 of the 45 to 55 group would be in the key states listed above so we would have to select from these states by a priority list which we can discuss.

We should discuss the text of my letter and the mailing list situation with Bob Morgan, our expert who is out of town today.

The price for the mailing list is \$23.75 per thousand, or less than \$600 for the 25,000 names.

I can keep track of the Contributions resulting from this project, and on that basis we can decide whether to send out more books if they are available.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

T A B B.

May 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN LOFTON  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Pursuant to our conversation, the next issue of FIRST MONDAY should highlight the new book Eye On Nixon along the lines in the attached ad which will appear in major newspapers next month. In the text of the FIRST MONDAY story should appear a request for individuals to fill out the coupon and order their copy or copies ("buy one for you and one for a friend"). The text should stress that FIRST MONDAY is offering the book at a special pre-publication price of \$5.00 including all postage and shipping charges and that this offer will not be repeated ever again anywhere. Only a limited number of the books are available so readers should fill out the coupon immediately. For your information, 25,000 copies are available at this rate.

The coupon should read as follows:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
EYE ON NIXON  
310 First Street, Southeast  
Washington, D. C. 20003

I enclose check or money order of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
in payment for \_\_\_\_\_ copy(ies) of EYE ON  
NIXON (\$5.00 each). RNC pays all costs of  
postage and shipping.

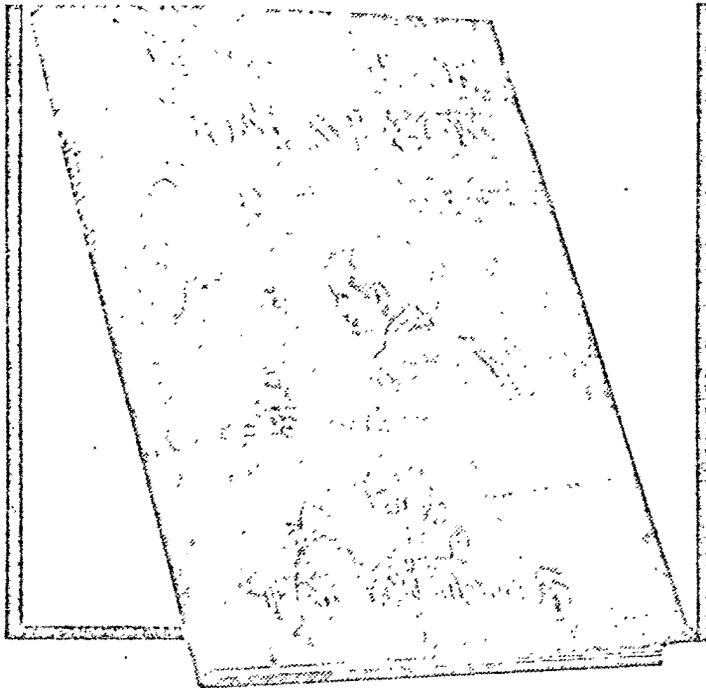
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

John, it is imperative that this coupon be included. If you see any reason why it cannot be, please let me know.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder  
Mr. Richard A. Moore



**EYE  
ON  
NIXON**

*A Photographic Study  
of the President  
and the Man*

Edited by  
**Julie Nixon Eisenhower**

Richard Nixon relaxing at Camp David, pondering a shopping decision, celebrating Christmas with his family and staff. President Nixon proposing a toast in China's Great Hall, making an historical announcement on TV, meeting with Congressional leaders. Here is a true portrait of the complex, very human man who is 37th President of the United States. 58 full-color, 105 black and white photographs. \$5.95

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